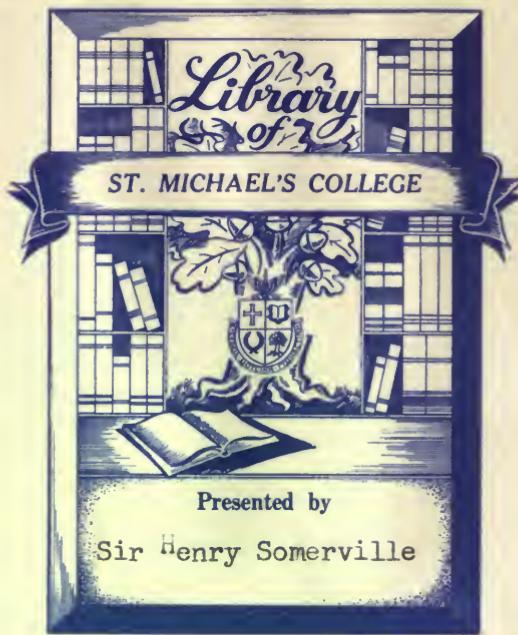


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**THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIÆVAL
ENGLAND**



THE GILDHALL, HADLEIGH, SUFFOLK.

Parish Gilds, Frontispiece.

THE PARISH GILDS
OF
MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND

BY

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PREFACE

IT is impossible to understand the social life of England from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries without taking into account the considerable part played by the parochial gilds, yet it is true to say that this type of gild has received no more than casual attention from the social historian, and has been practically ignored by the modern writer on English Church history. The only adequate picture of the system of parochial gilds, that I know, still remains that given by Dr. Rock in 1849 in his *Church of our Fathers*. The picture is doubtless too idealistic, and it was based upon material in no way comparable to that which has since come to light, but it indicates, as I think, a truer understanding of the motives and objects which brought such gilds into being than that shown by any subsequent writer.

The first to call attention to new material was Mr. Toulmin Smith in *English Gilds* (E.E.T.S., 1870). He discovered at the Public Record Office the returns of gilds made in 1389 to Richard II., and printed forty-nine of those made in English, together with the translations of a few others. Unfortunately his death took place before he could record his considered judgment on them, but his daughter was able to summarise her father's views in a valuable preface. It is somewhat ungracious to criticise a pioneer in any subject, more especially when he can no longer reply to the criticism, but there are certain indications in Mr. Toulmin Smith's notes, as well as in the preface by his daughter, that he had little sympathy with the mediæval Church or understanding of the place occupied by such doctrines as those of purgatory, and the efficacy of masses and alms as a means of deliverance therefrom. He thus, I think, mistook the true character of the societies whose records he examined, and denied the existence of the religious motives which, as I shall hope to show, played so large a part in their formation.

That the nature of these societies has been misunderstood in other ways is, to me at least, abundantly evident. A writer in *Social England* (vol. ii., p. 172), dealing with the fourteenth

and early fifteenth centuries, says: "The prevalence of guilds in small country towns is evidence of a wide development of the artisan class." There could hardly be a less legitimate deduction. In the mind of this writer the word *gild* is inevitably associated with the idea of the craft, and he seems to have no conception of the parochial gilds as such, though these must have outnumbered by thousands those associations which had craft interests as their object.

I have endeavoured in this book to supply the materials for a new picture, and it remains for me to define both the scope and the limitations of what is here intended. I have not thought it necessary to draw illustrations from gild-life on the Continent or to discuss the claims of England to be the birthplace of gilds. The gilds-merchant and craft-gilds appear here only in their parochial or religious aspect. Out of the many hundreds of gilds whose records I have examined I have selected those only which seemed to afford the best types of parochial gilds in general or else to exhibit some notable variation therefrom—and, of course, the extent of the remaining records in each case has inevitably influenced that choice. In consequence many a prominent gild may remain unnoticed or receive only casual mention because it exhibited no points of difference from others.

The Appendix should be of considerable value to local historians as indicating the nature of one great source of available information for the earlier period. In the compiling of this I have to acknowledge with gratitude the invaluable aid of Miss Lilian Redstone, B.A., who undertook many transcriptions for which I had no leisure.

The greater part of the work has been based upon a careful study of original documents, but I have tried to indicate other sources of information, and must express my regret if any remain unacknowledged in the text. To Mr. Vincent Redstone, F.R.Hist.S., and Mr. Arthur Coldicott I owe much for the loan of notes and for comments generally. I have a debt also to acknowledge to many others, among whom are the Rev. H. H. King, the Rev. Canon Warren, F.S.A., the Rev. Father Thurston, S.J., Mr. William Martin, LL.D., F.S.A., Mr. W. A. Cater, F.S.A., and Mr. George Clinch, F.S.A.(Scot.).

H. F. WESTLAKE.

THE CLOISTERS,
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE - - - - -	V
 CHAPTER	
I. GILD ORIGINS: SOME EARLY GILDS AND ASSOCIATIONS - - - - -	1
II. FROM THE SAXON PERIOD TO THE BLACK DEATH - - - - -	11
III. FROM THE BLACK DEATH TO 1389 - - - - -	26
IV. THE RETURNS OF 1389 - - - - -	36
V. THE GILDS OF CORPUS CHRISTI - - - - -	49
VI. SOME COUNTRY GILDS - - - - -	60
VII. A GILD RULE AND SOME GILD DEVELOPMENTS - - - - -	66
VIII. SOME LATER GILDS - - - - -	77
IX. A GILD HOSPITAL: OUR LADY OF RONCESVALLES - - - - -	92
X. RELIGIOUS GILDS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT - - - - -	104
XI. SOME GILD DEDICATIONS - - - - -	120
XII. THE PASSING OF THE GILDS - - - - -	128
 APPENDIX: THE GILD CERTIFICATES OF 1389: AN ANALYSIS - - - - -	 137
INDEX - - - - -	239

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE GILDHALL, HADLEIGH, SUFFOLK	-	-	-	<i>Frontispiece</i>
<i>Photograph by F. Aldridge, Hadleigh.</i>				
ADMISSION OF THE DEAD AS GILD-BRETHREN	-	-	-	facing p. 42
Gild MSS., St. Margaret's, Westminster. <i>Photograph by Emery Walker.</i>				
THE GILD HOUSE, BARDWELL, SUFFOLK	-	-	-	,, 64
<i>Photograph by the Author.</i>				
FINES FOR BREAKING GILD RULES	-	-	-	,, 74
Gild MSS., St. Margaret's, Westminster. <i>Photograph by Emery Walker.</i>				
ACCOUNTS OF A GILD FEAST	-	-	-	,, 88
Gild MSS., St. Margaret's, Westminster. <i>Photograph by Emery Walker.</i>				
GILD ACCOUNTS : OUR LADY OF ROUNCYVAL	-	-	-	,, 94
<i>Photograph by Emery Walker.</i>				

THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

GILD ORIGINS: SOME EARLY GILDS AND ASSOCIATIONS

IT is probable that an adequate history of gild life in general should begin at the remote period when men first dwelt in organised communities of any sufficient size. It is man's natural instinct to associate himself with his fellows, whether for worship or conviviality, for his own protection or the safeguarding of his interests. It is not, therefore, surprising that the gilds of mediæval England should in many respects bear a certain resemblance to the institutions of democratic Greece or imperial Rome. The local *cultus* of Diana of the Ephesians affords a heathen type of many a local devotion of the Christian era. The sacrificial assemblies of less civilised tribes offer a pagan prototype of gatherings for corporate worship, and in the social aspect it is noteworthy that a Greek word which might well be translated *gild* had as its first meaning a meal to which each guest was required to contribute his portion.

For these and other reasons, it is somewhat profitless to attempt to limit the derivation of the parochial gilds of England to any particular source, more especially as they owed their specific character to beliefs and practices that belonged to their own time.

The origin of gilds in England is lost in the mist which obscures the history of our early English forefathers. Their laws, however, from the reign of Ine of Wessex at the beginning of the eighth century on to the time of Edward the

Confessor assumed that every free man was the member of a gild. Such gilds in England were, so far as can be ascertained, entirely secular in origin, and contained in their association with each other the germ of the municipal bodies of a later date. In London and in York, and probably throughout the country,¹ townsmen and villagers were distributed into groups of ten, each group forming a *Frith-gild*, or brotherhood, for the maintenance of the peace. The brothers were bound to each other by mutual obligations and responsibilities of a secular and somewhat drastic character,² so closely, indeed, that it is not surprising to find them developing their associations in other directions also, meeting periodically for social purposes and settling disputes among themselves without recourse to a court of law.

It is not until early in the tenth century, in the reign of Æthelstan, that any hint is found of obligations of a religious character, though these may well have existed previously. In that reign the bishops and reeves of London ordained that when a gild-brother died his fellows should each give a loaf in soul-alms and sing, or cause to be sung, fifty psalms on his behalf within the ensuing thirty days.³

It is not possible to follow the precise development of the religious gild from this small beginning, but within a hundred years the brethren of different frith-gilds had begun to combine together to form associations of a purely religious character. The earliest known example of this new form of gild dates probably from the reign of Canute whose piety and devotion to the saints the monastic chroniclers were never tired of praising. Orcy, the friend of the king, inspired perhaps by his example of life, founded a gild among the frith-gildsmen of Abbotsbury and endowed it with a hall and a "stead." Its religious character is clearly established by the concluding portion of the Rule agreed upon by Orcy and his gild-brethren:⁴

¹ For a full discussion of this see Kemble, *Saxons in England*, vol. i., chap. ix.

² See p. 5, the Thanes' gild at Cambridge.

³ *Judicia Civitatis Londinensis*.

⁴ Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, pp. 607, 608.

Let us fervently pray to God Almighty with inward heart that He may have mercy on us, and also to His holy apostle St. Peter that he may intercede for us and make clear our way to everlasting rest, because for love of him we have gathered this gild. He has the power in heaven that he may let into heaven whom he will and refuse whom he will not. . . . Let us have trust and hope in him that he will ever have care of us here in the world, and after our departure hence be a help to our souls; may he bring us to everlasting rest.

The gild was connected with the neighbouring monastery, and the brethren were required to make regular contributions towards its maintenance. Three days before the mass of St. Peter each brother must give a penny or its equivalent in wax according to the need of the monastery at the time, and on St. Peter's Eve each two brethren must provide one broad loaf between them for the common alms of the gild. Other offerings of wood and wheat were to be made on certain fixed days, and a distinction is made between "full brethren" and those who were not "full brethren" in the amount levied.¹ No brother ought to misgreet another, but should he do so he must atone not only to the brother concerned but also to the whole gild. He must not introduce more than the appointed number of guests to a gild feast without leave of the steward, and he must pay an entrance fee for admission to the gild.

The remaining statutes relate entirely to the duties incumbent towards the sick and dead. If a brother fell sick within sixty miles of Abbotsbury the gild was to provide fifteen men to fetch him to wheresoever he should desire to go, and if he were dead the number was to be thirty, while if the death took place at Abbotsbury itself the steward was required to warn all the brethren to assemble and attend the corpse to the minster, and there pray earnestly for the soul of the departed. *This will rightly be called a gildship if we do this,*

¹ *Riht geyldan* and *ungyldan*. The distinction possibly belongs to a frith-gild ordinance, the *ungyldan* being those not old enough for admission to full membership. The *cnichten-gild* to which Stow refers may have been a gild formed of such young *ungyldan*, but the matter is obscure.

. . . for we know not which of us shall soonest depart hence'; so does the Rule conclude, and the words are significant for the spirit of brotherhood which they imply and the religious duty to which they refer.

Such are the ordinances, and it may be at once observed that in embryo at least they form the ordinances of all the religious gilds of later centuries. It is noteworthy that the Rule makes no precise provision for the saying of masses for the souls of the living or the dead; it is probable, however, that the annual gifts to the monastery implied in return the due rendering of all such observances as the religious instinct of the times demanded. These observances are, in part at least, determined by the Rule of a gild at Exeter.¹ This rule seems to belong to the same half-century, though possibly of slightly later date. The gild brethren of Exeter agreed to meet together three times in the year, and at each meeting two masses were to be sung, one for the living and the other for the dead, and *after a death each man six masses or six psalters of psalms and at a death each man five pence*. The exact meaning of these words is not quite clear. Six masses or six psalters of psalms would be appropriate offerings for a priest and a layman respectively to make, unless, as seems improbable, the latter had the alternative of saying his six psalters or of paying the gild priest for six masses. The most natural interpretation is that certain members of the new gild were priests, a conclusion of some interest in the light of later gild history. This conclusion is supported to some extent by the Rule of the gilds of St. Peter at Woodbury,² one of which must date between the years 1072 and 1107, the period of Bishop Osbern's tenure of the See of Exeter. The bishop and canons adopted the society into fellowship with the monastery of St. Peter, Exeter—a practice which will be discussed later.³ The brethren of the gild paid yearly at Easter a penny for each household as a regular contribution, and after a death, whether of brother or sister, a similar payment in soul-alms. In exchange for these receipts the

¹ Thorpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 613, 614.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 608-610.

³ See p. 7.

canons engaged to perform the proper services on behalf of the gild. The Rule contains no other provisions than these, and implies that the gild was of the simplest organisation and that it existed for no other than a definitely religious purpose. It is of special interest as being the first Rule which speaks of women as members of such gilds.

After mentioning the names of the eighteen members of the gild, there is appended some record of a second gild at Woodbury, which, like the former, was *gathered to Christ and St. Peter*. It was made up of members of frith-gilds of thirteen different towns and villages, and among the names of the members are those of six priests. It seems to have differed in no respect from its namesake, except that it paid its subscription to the monastery at Martinmas instead of Easter.

One other Rule belonging to the eleventh century is still in existence, that of the Thanes' gild at Cambridge.¹ Its date cannot be exactly determined, but it seems to mark a stage of transition in the development of the religious gild. It was religious only in the sense that all later gilds were religious and that it was attached to a particular church, for part of its alms was to be taken to St. Ætheldryth, and the brethren had to swear true fidelity to each other upon holy relics presumably preserved in the same church. But beyond this there is nothing in the Rule to shew that it was other than a frith-gild. If anyone should slay a gild-brother he must pay eight pounds or the whole gild will avenge it. If a gild-brother slew anyone through wantonness he must bear the burden himself. If a gild-brother slew a gild-brother through his own folly, let him suffer.

Such are some of the statutes, and there are others of a similar character. In addition to these it was provided that if a gild-brother were taken sick or die away from home the brethren must fetch him alive or dead to wheresoever he should desire. A fine of a measure of honey was inflicted on all those who did not attend the *mornspeech*, or gild meeting.

The whole Rule is in striking contrast to the other three

¹ Thorpe, pp. 610-613.

existing Rules of the same century, so much so, indeed, as to warrant the conclusion that the gild was not of the same character or had not developed in the same fashion as the undoubtedly religious gilds at Abbotsbury, Woodbury, and Exeter.

Allusion has already been made to the fact that priests were to be found among the members of a gild at Woodbury, subsequent to the conquest, and to the possibility of such membership at an earlier date in the gild of Abbotsbury. There is, however, considerable evidence to shew that there already existed gild organisations among the clergy themselves at a far earlier period. In the *Textus Roffensis*, immediately after the laws of Wihtred, King of the Kentish, who died in the year 725,¹ is recorded a list of penalties to be imposed on those who violated holy orders by assaulting or killing anyone who had been admitted to one or more of the seven ecclesiastical degrees which began with the ostiary and ended with the bishop. The fines inflicted were to be divided into three parts, the first to belong to the bishop, the second to be used for the maintenance of the altar at which the injured party had ministered, and the third to be given to the *fraternity*. Exactly what is meant by the allocation of the last share cannot be determined, but it is at least probable that reference is intended to an association or gild of priests. That such gilds existed by the middle of the tenth century is evident from the laws of the Northumbrian priests of that period which prescribe the loss of fraternity to any priest who usurped the cure of another or refused the sentence of the bishop, while if any priest were wronged his fellows with the bishop's aid were to be very zealous to see him righted. The canons of the year 960 actually provide that no priest shall interfere with another in anything that concerns his parish or his *gildship*.

F. W.

But, while the existence of such gilds of priests prior to the

¹ The actual date of this code of penalties is in dispute. It has been assigned to a date two centuries later, but in any case it belongs to a period at least as early as the reign of Æthelstan, A.D. 925-940, or possibly Edgar, A.D. 959-975. See Johnson's *English Canons*, vol. i.

Conquest may be satisfactorily proved, their character must remain a matter of conjecture. It is possible that they were associations of the nature of the rural deanery of modern days with the additional bond of the obligation of mutual prayer both for the living and the departed. Such an obligation, entered into voluntarily, is found in many forms. Commonest among these was the granting of "brotherhood" by monasteries both to individuals and to corporate bodies. Constant reference to such "brotherhood" may be found in the writings of Bede and Alcuin, to mention only two. A document preserved among the muniments of Westminster Abbey¹ records that the dean and canons of the college of St. Martin-le-Grand had long admitted the whole gild of the Saddlers to be brethren participating in all the benefits of their masses, psalms, prayers and vigils, both by day and night, and had also granted the gild two masses a week, one for the living and the other for the dead, together with the ringing of the church bells and procession.

That the granting of such spiritual brotherhood was not characteristic of any particular century of gild history is evident from another of the Westminster Abbey documents² in which Robert, the prior, and the Carthusian house of St. Anne at Coventry address the most serene and Christian prince, Henry VI. Moved by his pious merits, and especially by the devotion and reverence which he has shewn to their order, and by his munificence towards their needs, they have granted him "spiritual fraternity" with participation in all their prayers and spiritual goods, masses, fasts, alms and disciplines, whether by day or night. They and their successors pledge themselves also to the yearly celebration of his obit with funeral rites and masses.

Another form of such "brotherhood" is found in the linking together of monasteries by spiritual ties. A document³ which from internal evidence must belong to the year

¹ Westminster Abbey Muniments, 13184. The document is excellently reproduced in Mr. Sherwell's account of the Gild of Saddlers, published for the members of the Company.

² *Ibid.*, 650.

³ Thorpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 615, 616.

1077 relates that an agreement was made between Bishop Wulstan, the six abbots of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe and Gloucester, and the Dean of Worcester, to be obedient to God, St. Mary, and St. Benedict, faithful to King William and Matilda the lady, and live in unity as if all the seven monasteries were one monastery. Two masses were to be sung weekly in each monastery for the living and the dead of all, while the abbots would each buy a hundred masses; bathe, feed and shoe a hundred needy men; and give a penny in alms on thirty days of the year.

A third system of "brotherhood" is found in the practice of transmitting the names of dead monks in mortuary rolls from monastery to monastery, in order that masses and prayers might be said for their souls.

The gild of the Kalendars at Bristol must have been one of the oldest gilds in England, as well as one of the most interesting. Writing in 1478, William Worcester asserted that he had seen documents of the time of St. Wulstan which shewed that the gild was founded as early as the year 700. However this may be, it seems originally to have been a gild of priests only, and the name is said to have been derived from the fact that they were accustomed to meet on the first day of each month to discuss their common affairs, and Wilda quotes a deed of the fifteenth century which speaks of them as assembling for mass on the Kalends.

At an early period laymen were admitted to membership, and it must be assumed that the original character of the gild became altered in some respects. Among the earliest duties which the gild assumed was the keeping of old records and muniments, not only of Bristol but also of other municipal bodies in different parts of the kingdom, and possibly also it acted as an official recorder of the city's affairs. In the reign of Henry II. the gild moved from the church of the Holy Trinity to that of All Saints, where Leland says that a school was "ordeyned for the conversion of the Jewes and putte in the ordre of the Calendaries and the Maior," its founders being Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Robert Fitzharding, burgess of Bristol. In the oath required of the

mayor before admission to office in the fifteenth century a clause appears which required him to swear to help, support and favour, in all lawful ways the priests of the house of the Kalendars.

The gild had eight chaplains to celebrate for the brethren and the souls of dead benefactors, and was presided over by a priest-prior chosen by a majority among the chaplains and brethren.

A corporate mass was held on the first Monday in every month, trentals were said for the dead, and lay brethren were required to say fifteen paternosters and aves daily and thirteen more for the fraternity living or dead.

It will, of course, be understood that these arrangements do not belong to the earliest period of the gild history. They are met with first in the Rule¹ approved by William de Bleys, Bishop of Worcester from 1218 to 1236, and confirmed by the Pope. The further story of the gild belongs to civic history rather than religious.

It will already be evident that the bond which linked these early religious associations together was the belief in the value of prayer, and more particularly in the efficacy of masses and prayers for the souls of those who had passed away, a doctrine following directly upon the belief in purgatory. The doctrine of purgatory is undoubtedly of very early origin, though it received no very distinct definition until the close of the sixth century, when Gregory the Great pronounced in its favour. From that time onwards the doctrine gained almost universal acceptance, and occupied a prominent place in the religious belief of the West, though there is probably nothing that can be regarded as an authoritative pronouncement of the Church until the Council of Florence in 1439.

The foundation of new, or the enlargement of existing, monasteries had the incidental result of providing in part for the need of the maintenance of masses for the dead, but where that need was not adequately met the custom arose of endowing a chantry and a priest to minister at its altar. These chantries were commonly in the aisles of churches,

¹ F. B. Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 1900.

and grew to an extraordinary number. Many were the product of private benefactions and bequests, with the usual conditions of masses and prayers *in perpetuo* for the soul of the donor; but since such endowments were naturally beyond the means of a large number of people, the parallel custom slowly developed of parishioners, or those whose daily life and business brought them together, associating themselves into gilds for the maintenance of a priest to say mass for them, thus providing corporately what individually they were unable to afford.

"The first and highest duty of an Anglo-Saxon gild was made to stand upon the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory," wrote Dr. Rock,¹ and in spite of much that has been said to the contrary, such would appear to have been the origin of the purely religious gilds. They must have come into being had the frith-gilds never existed. Even the gilds that were formed for some other purpose than actual devotion without exception made the same uniform provision for religious observances. The primary difficulty in any attempt to classify the gilds of a later day lies in determining the purpose, secular, semi-secular or religious, for which they were founded. Moreover, opinions will differ as to whether, to take only two instances, such objects as the performance of a miracle play or the education of the young may properly be termed religious. But, indeed, when all has been said, the exact distinction that is made in modern days between the religious and the secular is a distinction that would have been incomprehensible to our forefathers of the middle ages, when the two, if two they be, were inextricably blended in the current of daily life.

¹ *Church of our Fathers*, ii. 399.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE SAXON PERIOD TO THE BLACK DEATH

THE story of the religious gilds from the Saxon period to the year 1349 can only be told in vague outline, and much must be left to conjecture. The Domesday Book makes mention of two gilds at Canterbury, one of burgesses and the other of priests, noting the not inconsiderable possessions of each, while a document in Early English records an exchange of property between the Chapmen's gild at Canterbury and the convent of Christ Church sometime during the archbishopric of Anselm. The burgesses of Malmesbury claimed that their borough gild was granted them by Athelstan, and were prepared with a charter in confirmation of their claim. In view of this gracious gift, they had built a chapel in honour of God and St. John Baptist, for which they provided a chaplain to sing a daily mass for the souls of King Athelstan and Dame Maud, and of the Kings of England, the burgesses, their ancestors and successors, and all benefactors of the town.

The *Fraternity of the Clerks of Glemsford*, which was located in the church of St. Mary at Bury St. Edmunds, claimed to have come into being in the reign of Canute, and certainly received some sort of constitution from Abbot Baldwin in the time of Edward the Confessor. Founded in honour of Our Lord, St. Mary, St. Peter and All Saints, their chief purpose was to chant at the funerals of the monks of Bury, and it is probable that their services could be obtained for similar offices on behalf of others whose friends were willing to pay for them. The fraternity consisted entirely of priests or of those who were to become so. They were enjoined by Abbot

Baldwin to keep vigil day and night for the good estate of the church of St. Edmund, and continually to invoke God's mercy for the salvation of the abbot and all the monks of that church. When a monk died they were to assemble at the church and form a watch about the body, sing a psalter and bear the body to the grave, not forgetting to commend the soul to God. Their obligations with regard to the monastery and their own fraternity did not end with this. In the course of the year each priest was to say thirteen masses and each clerk three psalters on behalf of the living, while for the dead the priest must say thirty masses with vigils and the clerk ten psalters with thirty vigils. In addition certain psalms and prayers were prescribed for daily use. With regard to their own fraternity, they buried poor brethren at their own expense and were bound to go and bring home a sick brother if desired. The fraternity was granted immunity from watch and ward by Abbot Ordign (1156-1180) in confirmation of a similar immunity conferred by Abbot Baldwin.

Other privileges were granted to or assumed by them approximating somewhat to those of craft-gilds of a later day. No cleric in Bury might presume to teach the psalter without the leave of the fraternity on pain of a fine of two shillings, and no layman could have his son trained in letters without the fraternity's permission. At some period in their history they became the possessors of eight acres of land, some shops and a cottage.

Another gild at Bury, that of St. Nicholas, owed its foundation in 1282 to twelve priests, but did not confine itself to this number of brethren or to men in holy orders. Brethren and sisters, priests and layfolk, were admitted up to the number of sixty, in addition to the twelve and a governor elected by them, so long as they were of good moral character. The management of the gild was entirely in the hands of the twelve, and all other brethren were required to take an oath before admission that they would in no way conspire against the rights of the governing body. Their object was the keeping more fittingly of the Feast of the

Translation of St. Nicholas and the beseeching of God's mercy for the welfare of the brethren both in soul and body. The gild was also known as the Dulse Gild, or *le dusse*, from the number twelve of their governing body. It appears as providing a pageant for the festival of Corpus Christi, and in 1387 as renting a tenement from the Sacrist's office next to one of its own tenements called the Song School. It made its return in due form on the summons of the King in 1389.

The rule of the gild contains the usual regulations with regard to the offering of masses and alms for the living and the dead on the festival day, with *Placebo* and *Dirige* on the eve, but lays down an obligation of daily prayer which is worth notice. The priests were to say every day on behalf of the living *Deus Misereatur*, *Pater Noster*, and *Ave Maria*, with other versicles and collects, and *De Profundis* with *Pater Noster* and Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, with other prayers on behalf of the departed. The duty of the lay brethren and sisters was the daily recitation of three pater-nosters and aves for the living and as many for the dead, while similar prayers must be made for any brethren or sisters who were sick, on whose behalf also the priests must say masses. The curious provision is made that if by reason of infirmity, forgetfulness, or urgent business, these prayers should be omitted, a year's neglect might be atoned for by the provision of two masses of the Holy Spirit, one for the living and the other for the dead. At all divine offices the priests must remember the brethren living and departed.

If a brother or sister fell into poverty a special collection was made to relieve him, and if any died in poverty the charges of his funeral were undertaken by the gild if his behaviour during his life had been approved by them.

The regulations which prescribe the ceremonial to be observed at the funeral of a dead brother or sister make a curious and possibly unique distinction between the laity and the priests. If the dead man were a priest lay brethren and priests alike must attend the services both on the eve and day of the funeral. He must be borne to the church by

four priests, all the brethren following in procession, and all the priests in their masses for his soul were to say a special Collect, Secret, and Post-Communion, with a special memorial, the last to be used for a year. Moreover, the mass at the burial was to be sung. But in the case of a layman the lay brethren need only be present at the mass if it should be convenient, and the mass was to be said and not sung. The year's mind was to be kept both for clergy and laity.

Another unusual statute provides that if a brother for reasonable cause was absent either from the festival or from the services for the dead, a substitute should be appointed by the officers of the gild to act for him in exactly the same fashion as he himself would have acted had he been present.

The Rule concludes with the pious wish "*Valeat et vigeat ista fraternitas* to the honour of God and St. Nicholas for ever and ever. Amen."

No provision was made in the Rule for any social gathering, but the gild united with that of the Holy Cross at Icklingham in a frugal breakfast of bread and cheese, presumably on their respective festivals or else on the day when the annual accounts were made.

The gild of St. Thomas the Martyr at Wymondham provides the earliest known fraternity of that dedication. Becket was canonised in 1173, while Henry II. did not die till 1189. It is interesting to observe that the gild was founded two years before the death of the King. It is unlikely that the gild rule which survives belongs in anything like its entirety to such an early date, though the ordinance which prescribes an annual procession to the church with the new gild candle is characteristic of many of the earlier gilds. In other respects the rule offers no points of exceptional interest. It is probable that gilds of this dedication were comparatively common, so strongly was the popular imagination stirred by the story of the martyrdom and the subsequent canonisation; but unfortunately the records of the religious gilds prior to the Black Death are so scanty that only some three or four of this dedication can be assigned definitely to the period under review. Of these the gild of

St. Thomas at Lynn,¹ founded in 1272 because of the honour which so many of the townsfolk had for the glorious martyr, possessed an image of the saint in the parish church, before which a taper burned at Matins, Mass and Vespers, and also a lamp during the night. On the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the gild brethren met for a solemn mass with a special memorial of the saint. The gild of St. Thomas at Gedney had a chapel dedicated to the martyr-saint and supported a chaplain to sing their services. They observed the Feast of the Translation by assembling for the solemn mass, after which they held a gild feast, where they entertained thirteen poor persons, returning later to the chapel for vespers, followed by offices for the dead brethren and sisters of the fraternity. On the morrow they had a solemn requiem mass.

The gild of St. Mary in the church of All Saints at Northampton, founded before the reign of Edward I., added to its other many services a sung mass weekly in honour of St. Thomas.

Another fraternity of St. Thomas was founded sometime in this period in the chapel on London Bridge by certain parishioners of St. Magnus. This fraternity united with that of the Salutation of Our Lady in St. Magnus (founded 1343) in order to rebuild that church, which was too small for parochial needs, and in memory of the amalgamation it was ordained that an antiphon of St. Thomas should be said each evening at Vespers after the Salutation.

The association of chapels with bridges is a common feature of early gild history. The dangers to which travellers were exposed and the merit which attached to pilgrimages would be a sufficient reason for the provision of special opportunities for prayer, but it is possible that the connection is pagan in origin. However that be, it is certain that among the tasks undertaken by the earlier gilds that of the maintenance of bridges was regarded as a religious duty—for instance, the gild of the Assumption at Stamford, founded

¹ Chancery Gild Certificate, No. 269. To be distinguished from the other gilds of St. Thomas at Lynn belonging to later dates.

in 1210 in the church of St. Mary by the bridge, was the possessor of certain tenements bequeathed to it for the double purpose of maintaining a daily mass and repairing the bridge itself, while other instances of this duty might be quoted.

The earliest fraternity of a specifically religious character in the city of London, the record of which still remains, is that of St. Anne in the church of St. Owen, Newgate. The actual date of its foundation is not known, but its ordinances were drawn up sometime in the reign of King John by John Schepewe, a barber, and another, who were masters of the fraternity. In 1389 it was providing seven candles to burn before St. Anne's image on all festivals when the light was lit before the Crucifix, and had a chaplain to celebrate mass for it and to officiate at the funeral ceremonies of brothers and sisters. To any member of seven years' standing it would provide 7d. weekly in poverty. It is probable that the religious uses which characterised it in 1389 were of a considerably later date than its foundation, when its ambition might well have been only the provision of a light before the image of its patroness. Gilds whose professed object was of this simple character seem especially to be characteristic of the thirteenth century. Such an one was the gild of St. Mary at Tilney, founded in 1235, which prescribed no other duties than the provision of a candle before the Blessed Virgin, of a corporate mass yearly, and the attendance of the fraternity at the funeral ceremonies for their dead.

The gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of St. Botolph at Boston, founded in 1260, provided two masses daily, one at dawn and the other at nine o'clock, so that travellers leaving the town early or those coming to it from other places might have the chance of attendance. It justified its dedication by a statement of its faith that we are unable to attain the gate of salvation without the aid of the "Star of the Sea," and exhibited its charity by a yearly distribution of bread and herrings to the poor in alms for the souls of its benefactors. This gild had a far more than local importance. From time to time it was the recipient of various privileges and indulgences from different Popes,

and the circle of its members extended far outside the town of Boston and, indeed, outside the county of Lincolnshire. The evidence of wills shews that brethren were resident in Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire. For instance, Mary Cotton of Brigstock bequeathed to the gild of Our Lady of Boston the arrears of her subscriptions, and requested that an obit should be done for her at the church.¹ The history of the gild extended over nearly three centuries.

The craft-gild of weavers at Lincoln, which received a charter from Henry II. in 1157, was in its religious aspect a fraternity of the Exaltation of the Cross, though it does not appear as such till 1346. It provided a great candle before the "high cross in the body of the mother church of Lincoln," which was renewed yearly, brought thereto in a solemn procession. Like most of the gilds of Lincoln, it made ordinances for such brethren as desired to go on pilgrimage. Such ordinances may be illustrated from the Rule of the gild of St. Anne in the parish of St. Peter at the Skinmarket. A brother who would make pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Rome, or St. James, must first of all surrender any gild property he may have in his hands. On his setting out the brethren lead him as far as the Cross on Lincoln Green, and there the Graceman, as the masters of gilds at Lincoln were called, gives him 2d., the two wardens 1d., and every gild brother $\frac{1}{2}$ d. On his return he is met at the same place and conducted with joy and honour to the cathedral church and thence to his home.

Another Lincoln gild deserves mention because of the rarity if not the unique nature of its dedication. Though its statutes are dated 1363, the gild of St. Edmund of Pontigny was founded in 1276, in the church of All Saints. Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1240, was canonised in 1246, but no record of any other gild under his patronage has survived. This is not, of course, to say that no other such gilds were founded, but only that their memorial has perished with them. The Lincoln gild possessed an image of the saint, and yearly on the Sunday after his feast

it held a procession, bearing a new candle to set in front of it. This with a yearly requiem mass forms the total of their recorded gild devotions, apart from careful directions as to the funeral ceremonies for a dead brother.

The exact character of a gild at Bath belonging to the thirteenth century is somewhat difficult to determine. It is described as the "Common Chantry of Bath in the church of St. Mary de Stalles," and the Mayor of Bath was the warden of the fraternity. The lands originally granted to the chantry became forfeit under the Statute of Mortmain (1289), but were afterwards regranted with a pardon for the purpose of finding a chaplain to celebrate daily for the good estate of the King and Queen and their children, for their souls and the souls of others. Once a year, on a day in the week of Pentecost to be appointed by the mayor, the fraternity gathered to pray for the King and Queen and for the realm, for the benefactors of the fraternity, and for the souls of brethren and sisters, living and dead.

Among the most interesting gilds of this period is that commonly known as the "Palmers of Ludlow." It was founded on the Feast of the Purification, in 1284, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in the church of St. Lawrence. The proposed purpose of the gild was the good estate of the souls of its brethren, their parents and benefactors and all the faithful departed, and the performance of works of charity on behalf of the living and the departed. With their dedication to the Blessed Virgin they associated also the Holy Cross and All Saints. In 1329 they acquired a charter from Edward III., presumably for the purpose of alienating lands for the objects of the gild.

It has been suggested¹ that the origin of the fraternity lay in the personal insecurity arising from the continual troubles on the Welsh border, and that the object of the gild was the protection of members who were oppressed or robbed by others, but though certain of its rules may have been framed with this in view, there seems no reason for supposing that its foundation bore any essential difference from those of

¹ T. Wright, F.S.A., *History of Ludlow*, 1852.

other gilds of the same date. Included in the gild were a warden, seven priests, and some singing-men and choristers charged with the performance of divine service in the church of St. Lawrence. The gild maintained also a schoolmaster for a free grammar school, and thirty-two almsfolk. The members of the gild charged their houses proportionately with a rent payable by themselves and their heirs to the gild for the maintenance of three chaplains, one of whom was to celebrate for the living, a second for the dead, and the third in honour of the Holy Cross, each of the three to say mass daily. When a brother died the members were required to attend vespers, matins and mass, and to pray for the departed, and the Rule contains the following curious prescriptions. If a brother of the gild desired to keep watch by the body of the dead he should be permitted to do so, but he must not put on hideous masks nor attempt any mockery of the dead man or his reputation, nor play any other indecent games! The phrase which is here translated "put on hideous masks" is in the original, "*monstra larvarum inducere*," and is hardly capable of the translation "call up the shapes of demons," as given by Mr. Toulmin Smith.¹ In any case the Rule hints at revelries of an improper character. A woman was forbidden to share in the watch unless she belonged to the household of the dead. If a member of the gild suffered loss from robbers, fire, shipwreck, or other misfortune, so that he was unable to provide for himself, he was to receive help from the gild, but such help was limited to three separate occasions. Assistance was also to be given in cases of false imprisonment. If a girl member of the gild desired to enter religion or to marry she was to be assisted from the gild funds if her parents were unable to provide such dowry as was necessary. The gild possessed some vestments bequeathed by the Earl of March.

The gild of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at Wigtoft, which was founded in 1345, was exclusive in character. Its numbers were limited to twelve, in addition to the chap-

¹ Mr. Toulmin Smith (*English Gilds*, p. 194) does not seem to have considered the translation here accepted.

lain, whom they elected and for whose maintenance they made provision. It follows that the members must have belonged to the wealthier classes. Moreover, if a brother died, the Rule provided that his next of kin should take his place if he were willing and able.

Two instances occur in London before the Black Death of fraternities founded to maintain services in chapels just added to churches. At St. Mary Colechurch Geffrey Wynchecombe and another added a chapel in honour of St. Katharine on the south side of the church, and then founded a fraternity in 1338 to provide lights and a chaplain. The reason for the adding of the chapel was that the church was too small for the parishioners. The same reason moved Master Clerk, citizen of London, to extend the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and a fraternity was formed in 1339 to provide thirty-one lights in honour of Our Lady. The fraternity became the recipient of many legacies, both for the light and for the provision of a chaplain. The fraternity of St. Mary in the church of St. Bridget belongs to the same period, but the date of its foundation is not known. It existed to provide a light before the image of the Virgin, but when a chapel of the Virgin was added to the church its objects became more ambitious, and a chaplain was provided and other works undertaken. These, however, were entirely suspended by the coming of the Black Death, though they were afterwards renewed by some of the parishioners and a certain continuity given to the gild's existence.

An interesting instance of a fraternity founded to meet a popular need rather than to minister to its own devotions occurs in 1289 at Thetford. The fraternity of the Chapel of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin in Thetford market provided three chaplains, one for the Sunday mass, one for a daily mass, and the third for a requiem mass. The reason for such provision was the distance of the chapel from the other churches and its proximity to the market, which drew those who came to the town on market-days to hear their mass in the chapel.

Among the earliest gilds connected with the cathedrals was

that of All Souls in St. Paul's. It was founded in 1197 by Ralph de Diceto, but little record of it remains, save that it met four times in the year to hear mass of the Holy Ghost.

It is necessary at this stage to say something of the development or introduction of a gild system which, though not religious in character, was yet destined in part to become so. Influenced probably by the existence on the Continent of similar institutions, the idea of the gild was adapted to the interests of trade in general, which from the time of the Conqueror onwards became an increasingly important factor in English social life. By various municipal charters of the reign of Henry I., and more especially of the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, the burgesses were the recipients of various trade privileges and freedoms, among which was the permission to have a Gild Merchant or protective union in the interest both of the town and its industries. It is not to the present purpose to attempt further definition or description of these organisations so far as their immediate trade objects are concerned.

In many cases they enrolled themselves under the name of a patron saint, and most of them employed chaplains and enjoined upon their brethren the rules which especially characterise the religious gilds, such as the provision of masses for the living and the dead, works of charity in general, and the settlement of quarrels by private arbitration. Gradually in the course of the three centuries after the Conquest these gilds became merged in the governing authority of the borough and lost their separate identity. Where a separate identity was preserved at all it took the form of a rather exclusive club for social or convivial purposes or for the furtherance of a particular trade monopoly, or else emphasised the devotional side of its former state and became transformed into a religious gild.¹

The last-named development is the only one that need be noticed, and of this there is an interesting example in the gild of Corpus Christi at Ipswich. Founded originally as a Gild Merchant by a charter from King John in 1200, in little

¹ See Gross, *Gild Merchant*, chap. ix.

more than a century it had entirely lost its original character. In 1325 the priors of the churches of the Holy Trinity and St. Peter united to give it a formal organisation under the title of the Gild of Corpus Christi, by which it had already come to be known.¹

Similar in its origin was the gild of the Holy Trinity at Lynn, often referred to as the Great Gild of Lynn. In this gild the chief officials were quite naturally the chief citizens of the town. The alderman of the gild had unique importance. Among his duties was the naming of four burgesses who, with eight others selected by themselves, were to appoint the mayor and other officers of the town,² while if the mayor died during his term of office the alderman of the gild must take his place.

Contemporary with the introduction of the Gild Merchant, the gild idea began to be applied to a variety of purposes. As early as the year 1114 a gild of the Holy Sepulchre was founded at Cambridge for the special purpose of building a church in honour of God and the Holy Sepulchre, the Round Church witnessing to-day to the work which it performed. A gild of a similar character was founded at Winchester in 1202 for the reparation of the Cathedral. At Westminster Abbey a gild, probably of a religious character, was in existence among the bellringers at least as early as the year 1220, and was a year or two later the recipient of the legacy of a rent of twelve pence from William Mauduit, son of Robert Mauduit, the King's chamberlain, for ringing at the annual obit in the Abbey for his father's soul. It was natural, as Mr. Hibbert has pointed out,³ that men working at the same trade who were associated together in all the concerns of daily life, thinking alike and in many cases living close to each other, should desire not to be separated in worship. The result of this was the frequent formation of religious fraternities among members of the same craft, and it is probably true to assert that many of the craft-gilds of a later day

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Appendix to ninth report, p. 245.

² Gross, *op. cit.*, i., p. 161.

³ *Influence and Development of English Gilds*, p. 31.

had their origin in such religious associations. Thus the difficulty of the classification of gilds becomes obvious. In many cases it is impossible to determine whether a religious association developed into a craft-gild or whether a gild was formed primarily for trade interests and enrolled itself in customary fashion under the protection of religion. When it is remembered that a gild with a long history did not necessarily preserve the same character throughout, it becomes the more difficult to assign it to any particular class. When at some date in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century the tilers at Holbeach met and agreed to subscribe for a light to burn before the image of the Blessed Virgin, they formed a small fraternity with only that end in view, and were called the gild of the *Assumption* or the *Tilers Gild* indifferently, yet without further investigation it might easily be imagined, from the use of the latter title, that the gild had some craft end in view rather than the satisfaction of the devotion which they had to the Virgin.

The relation of the craft-gild to the religious fraternity is a subject which bristles with difficulties. On their religious side the craft-gilds included in many cases the wives of their members and frequently men who were not of the same "mystery." It has been suggested, indeed, that the first form of what afterwards developed into the City Company was invariably that of a religious fraternity,¹ and, indeed, there is much to be said for this theory. A charter of the year 1453 seems to give legal existence to such a fraternity among members of the Company of Armourers. The preamble of the charter recites that

"the men of the mystery of Armourers of the City of London and their predecessors had for a long time previous an intimate and brotherly love, in so much that they, earnestly desiring to prosper and be increased, had begun to make, found and establish to the praise and honour of God and of the glorious martyr St. George, a fraternity or gild among themselves and to burn a wax light to the praise and honour of the famous martyr in his chapel within the cathedral church of St. Paul,

¹ J. C. L. Stahlschmidt, *The City Companies*, vol. ii., St. Paul's Eccl. Soc.

London, at certain times before the image of the same martyr, and had piously, peaceably and quietly offered, found and charitably maintained and continued certain divine services, ecclesiastical ornaments, and other works of charity and piety there, for a long time past, yearly to the honour of the same martyr."

Fear was expressed that their fraternity was not rightly and lawfully founded, and they had petitioned the King that he would be graciously pleased to found that fraternity himself and grant it a legal status. The King consented, and accordingly the fraternity or gild of St. George of the Men of the Mystery of Armourers of the City of London was established. They were to maintain a chaplain to perform divine service daily for the soul's health of the King and of the brothers and sisters of the gild, both in their lifetime and after their death.

Strype and others have regarded this charter as constituting the Company of Armourers presumably as a craft-gild, but the very fact that provision was made for the inclusion of sisters of the fraternity is sufficient to contradict this, and there can be little doubt that the gild thus formed was entirely religious in character, though its members were drawn from among those connected with a particular craft.

It will be convenient at this point to refer to such legislation as affected the gilds during the period under review. The increasing popularity of the doctrine of Purgatory and of the efficacy of masses and alms for the dead was not the least among the influences which prompted the bequest of lands and property to monastic institutions or religious fraternities. Such bequests as well as the acquirement of lands by purchase had the ultimate effect of depriving the feudal lords of dues falling to them on the death of individual proprietors for corporate bodies do not die. For a long time corporate bodies had been forbidden to acquire land without the consent of the feudal lord, but means were easily found to evade this prohibition. Accordingly in 1279 the statute, *De Religiosis*, commonly called the Statute of Mortmain, was passed to prevent the alienation of lands in such fashion

as to deprive the feudal lord or the Crown itself of their dues. It is unnecessary here to describe in what manner the statute was frequently evaded. Its effect upon the gilds in general was to make many apply for licenses of foundation allowing them to hold lands in Mortmain, and an indirect result was that a gild was often said to have been founded at the date when the Royal Charter was granted, whereas it might have been in existence at a date long previous. Instances of this will be seen in later chapters.

CHAPTER III

FROM THE BLACK DEATH TO 1389

THE year 1349 marks a break, if not an actual cleavage, in the history of the religious gilds. The devotional feeling of the age found much of its outward expression in the various *cultus* represented by the gilds, and such expression invariably required a certain expenditure of money, whether for the maintenance of a simple light or yearly mass or the more ambitious efforts which provided a gild chaplain. Poverty, therefore, was always a restraining factor in gild development, and some years of poverty and high prices had preceded the coming of the Black Death, a poverty associated in 1315 and 1322 with actual famine.

If the effect of the plague upon social and economic life was revolutionary, the resultant conditions in the sphere of religious observance were for a time at least not less chaotic. When it is remembered, for instance, that two-thirds of the clergy of Norfolk were victims of the plague and at least one-half in other parts of the country, while the mortality among the people was not less heavy, it is not surprising that churches bereft of both priest and people gradually fell into that condition of ruin which but a very few years of neglect will produce. The rate of recovery in different parts of the country varied very largely. In some places, possibly those less affected by the scourge, restoration began as soon as the actual ravages had passed. In others the traces of ruin were not obliterated for forty years at least. For many of the gilds the pestilence must have meant entire obliteration alike of the gild itself and of the record of its existence. Since the greater part of the information about the earlier gilds is derived from the returns made to the King in 1389, it may

be accepted as a general statement that unless a gild survived the Black Death and continued in existence until that year, its memorial perished with it.

The gild of St. Wyndred the Virgin at March, founded probably just before the plague, made its will, so to speak. If the gild came to an end by reason of the pestilence or some other destructive agent, its goods were to be given to the fabric of the chapel of March. This gild is of interest as dedicated in honour of a local saint whose body lay in a shrine in the chapel, before which two candles burnt on festivals and in whose honour another candle was lit at the Elevation.

The gild of St. James at Lynn claimed to have been founded a long time before the great pestilence, but in its return mentions that the greater part of its members died then, as, indeed, did the majority of the population of the town according to the return made by the gild of Corpus Christi.

In 1343 John Enefeld and certain other citizens of London, including an attorney, a chandler, and a whittawyer, founded a fraternity in the church of All Hallows, London Wall. Its primary purpose was the restoration of the church. The steeple was in danger of falling and other repairs were urgently needed. Accordingly they rebuilt the steeple and the chapel in the turret on the wall and re-roofed it. No further repairs were needed in the six years that followed, and the fraternity contented itself with the provision of a light to burn before the cross in the chapel. But when the pestilence came the whole fraternity died with the exception of Enefeld himself. The latter proceeded to refound the fraternity by assembling his friends among the London brewers and some other people also for the purpose of keeping the church in repair and maintaining the gild light in honour of All Saints, because of the great poverty of the parish. Later on they added five candles to burn before the cross and maintained a chaplain "singing in the same church" for all the brothers and sisters. In his will Enefeld bequeathed property for the maintenance of a chaplain, both in All Hallows and in the church of St. Owen, Newgate.

The fraternity of All Souls¹ in the charnel-house chapel in the cemetery of St. Paul's Cathedral was founded in 1379 for the sole purpose of so repairing the chapel as to make it fit again for the celebration of masses. When the fraternity was founded the chapel was in a ruinous condition, its windows were broken, its altar so covered with rubbish and filth that none of the chantry priests charged with the saying of masses for the souls of celebrated citizens were able to perform their duties, to the great scandal of the city. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, denounced the condition of things, and promised a "great pardon" to all who should aid in the necessary restoration. In consequence the fraternity was founded by certain citizens, the chapel restored, vestments and ornaments provided, and the chantry priests retained for the service of the altar. Thus three or four masses were sung daily to the great benefit of souls.

The fraternity pleaded with the Chancellor of England that full regard should be taken of their purpose, so that God and the dead be not wronged.

Among other customary ceremonies all the brethren assembled at 7 a.m. on the morning of All Souls' Day in the church of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and made procession therefrom with "modest step" to the chapel, saying fervent prayers for the living and dead as they went on their way. At their journey's end they heard a solemn mass, made their offerings, and dispersed whither they would.

In the last half of the fourteenth century gild after gild came into existence. It would seem probable that the horror of the great pestilence and the five subsequent visitations which followed before 1391 would provide a strong stimulus towards the foundation of gilds with the primary purpose of providing masses for the dead; but while it is true that the numerous gilds made that provision, there is little hint in any of their records that the shadow of death lay heavily upon them after the first visitation or that any special

¹ To be distinguished from the earlier fraternity of the same dedication; *vide* chap. ii., p. 21.

memorial was made of those who perished then in such numbers. It is likely that the increasing prosperity of the classes who before the plague had little opportunity of development, but who, owing to the subsequent scarcity of labour, were able to command far higher wages than before, had not a little to do with the rapid foundation of the parochial gilds. Man's memory is proverbially short, and those who recorded their gild's history in 1389 were living at a time sufficiently distant for the recollection of the full horror to have faded.

Some of the new gilds maintained the same simplicity of purpose which marked those of the previous century, and were often the outcome of the devotion of a very small number of people. John Hall of Great Yarmouth united in 1379 with three men and four women, probably their wives, under the patronage of St. Peter to provide a candle to burn in honour of the saint at the daily mass in the church of St. Nicholas. John Elys, Nicholas Drayton, and other burgesses of the same town, relate that in 1377 they began corporately to attend the church of St. Nicholas on St. George's Day, and out of their voluntary offerings to provide for the services of a chaplain to celebrate a daily mass for the King and for the souls of his ancestors, for themselves and for all the faithful departed. They were able also to provide for two candles and two torches, together with the other necessary ornaments of the altar of St. George. Another such simple gild was that of the Purification at Upwell, which decided that whatever goods might lawfully be collected should be spent on an image of the Virgin and on lights and ornaments for her altar. A second gild at Upwell, with the same dedication, tells how it was practically annihilated in 1376, probably by the fourth visitation of the plague, but was begun again in the following year. Formerly each member subscribed a bushel of malt, but at its reinauguration this was reduced to half a bushel, which seems to suggest a certain measure of poverty.

An interesting account of the beginning of a gild is related by the officers of that of St. John Baptist in the parish church at Spalding. One John de Rughton had painted a beautiful

image of St. John in 1358, and with a few devout friends provided a light to burn before it. In 1383 John Torarld, who had taken long and careful thought as to the provision of a chaplain, agreed with certain others to make equal subscriptions for this object, and so the fraternity came into being. Its officers were required to make an inspection twice a year of all the chapel furniture, to see if repairs were needed. The chaplain was expressly to assist the vicar of the church and be present at all the canonical hours in choir. The gild of the Holy Trinity at Spalding had a similar history, for it began with the presentation of a fully furnished altar by one John de Toft in 1370.

The poverty of many of the benefices, which doubtless resulted from the dislocation of land tenure in the time of the Black Death, was an object of concern to many of the parishioners, who set themselves the task of such relief as they could offer. The gild system provided them with the best opportunity of corporate action, and many gilds were founded for the sole purpose of augmenting the number of services, providing necessary ornaments and vestments or maintaining a priest to assist the vicar who would otherwise be single-handed. At Stamford in 1365 some of the parishioners, themselves poor men, were much exercised by the poverty of their rector, whose benefice scarcely sufficed to sustain him. Their method was in effect to form a gild, make the rector their gild chaplain and pay him for the celebration of masses. Each was to give what he could for this purpose, and on Trinity Sunday, their gild festival, they assembled for mass and made their offerings. After mass they reckoned up their goods and paid the rector such sum as seemed proper, reserving the remainder for the maintenance of sixteen lights before the Trinity Altar. On Corpus Christi Day they held their gild feast at the rectory, and, it may be supposed, were not too scrupulous in inquiry as to the disposal of what was left over.

No less than four gilds at Swaffham Bulbeck had exactly identical objects: firstly, the provision of a light in honour of their several patrons; secondly, the repair of the church and

the renovation of the ornaments, vestments and books; and, thirdly, the assistance of the deserving poor of the town.

In some cases gilds were formed to take over chantries whose rents or lands had disappeared in the chaos of the plague, or had so diminished in value as no longer to provide the necessary stipend for a priest. The gild of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the church of St. Mary at Oxford, provides a good instance of this. One Nicholas Gerland obtained letters patent from Edward III. licensing him to alienate certain messuages to support two chaplains to celebrate for his soul and the souls of some seven others and their ancestors. Neglect during the plague time and improper management later had so depleted the value of the property that the chantry which was at the altar of St. Thomas in St. Mary's Church could no longer be kept up, and, in fact, the rents did not suffice for the support of even one chaplain. Accordingly a gild was founded with the definite object of providing the daily mass between 5 and 6 a.m. for the scholars of the university and strangers staying a night in the city.

Somewhat resembling this was the gild of St. Katharine at Whaplode. A certain monk had built a chapel and placed in it a chaplain to celebrate for his soul and the souls of any benefactors of the chapel. When the monk died it is to be assumed that he left no money to carry on the chantry he had begun, so certain men of Whaplode formed a gild in order to support the chaplain, whom they provided with a cottage. The alternative to this was to leave the chapel to become derelict, and it is likely that many such derelict foundations were to be seen after the year 1349.

An undated return from certain burgesses of Shrewsbury tells of a church in the middle of that town which had long been unused and, destitute of divine service, abandoned to decay. It was founded, they said, in old time and was occupied by a dean and canons. It was also endowed. But the dean and canons were ousted and the prebends and possessions transferred to the Abbey of Lilleshull. It is somewhat surprising that no mention is made of the name of the church, though it is possible that its dedication had been

forgotten. The reference may be to the ancient church of St. Alcmund, founded by Elfleda, Queen of the Mercians, sometime before 800, and subsequently endowed with ten prebends. Richard de Belmeis, the Dean, surrendered the church, with all its dependant lands and livings, somewhere about the year 1145 to some Austin Canons, that they might build an Abbey at Lilleshull which was one of the prebendal estates. It is not possible to determine how long the church was allowed to remain unused or at what date the fraternity decided to revive divine service in it. An unnamed benefactor enfeoffed certain people of some houses in order to form an endowment for the gild chaplains to pray for his soul and the souls of the King and Queen and all their noble ancestors. It is particularly unfortunate that the gild certificate gives no further information, since no other certificates relating to Shrewsbury have survived and only two in all relating to the county of Shropshire.

In an earlier chapter¹ reference has been made to what may be called the co-operative aspect of a gild, the associating of brethren together to provide corporately those masses which individually they were unable to afford. This aspect is clearly brought out in the case of the gild of St. Mary in Tydd St. Giles. W. Everswell and Nicholas Clerk, desiring to augment divine service and do something in amendment of their lives and the better estate of their souls after death, associated others with them in order to find a chaplain to celebrate with this intent, "because they two alone were insufficient to do this." The chaplain was duly found, as also two torches to burn at the Elevation and a candle before the Virgin's image. When a brother died the bellman went through the town ringing his bell and bidding the folk to prayer for the dead. At the funeral mass each member gave a penny in soul-alms, and twenty pence, or bread to that value, was distributed to the poor out of the gild funds. For the rest they held an annual requiem mass on the Feast of the Assumption. As their ordinances were made immediately after the great pestilence, it is possible, though they do not

¹ See p. 10.

state it, that the founders were especially moved to action by the mortality they had seen around them.

The gild of St. James at Burgh in Lincolnshire owed its foundation in 1365 to one of those pilgrimages, evidently contemplated by the gilds as likely to be undertaken by the brethren, on the merit of which the Mediæval Church laid great stress. Five men had vowed a pilgrimage to St. James, and reached their destination without any untoward event. But on their way back they came in danger of death by a storm at sea, whereupon they vowed a vow to God and St. James that if by the intercession of the latter they should escape the storm and come safely to their homes they would build an altar in honour of St. James in the church of St. Peter, and so far as they were able maintain divine service there. As soon as they had made their vow the tempest ceased, and they came to their desired haven by St. James's intercession. When they reached their own homes they were asked by their friends and neighbours as to their health, and how they had fared on their journey, so they told of the tempest and of the vow that they had made. With the help of their friends they built the altar and dedicated it in honour of the saint who had befriended them. They give no account of any of their religious usages, nor do they state if they were able to provide a chaplain for their new altar. The only obligation of a pecuniary nature laid upon the brethren was a yearly contribution from each of a measure of barley towards the maintenance of the church fabric.

It does not appear when the Shepherd's Gild at Holbeach was founded, but the cause of its inception deserves notice. The shepherds and herdsmen, in the belief that the animals under their charge would be in better case if they themselves performed some special act of devotion towards the Blessed Virgin, founded a gild in honour of her Nativity, and since the nature of their calling prevented them more often than not from attendance at mass, they decided to find a candle to burn before the Virgin's image and two great candles to burn on festivals at the Elevation.

Among the curious customs characteristic of different gilds

one observed by the gild of St. John Baptist at Baston, which was founded in 1366, was evidently directly connected with the story of the patron saint. On St. John Baptist's Day all the sisters of the gild were required to come together and dance with each other, on penalty of a fine of a measure of barley. The sisters of the gild were also required to attend vespers and matins on the vigil of St. John, carrying a light in their hands, and this they were also to do when coming to the dance. They were excused only on the ground of age, sickness, or urgent business.

The gild of the Holy Trinity at Ingham, which dates from 1370, required a brother of less than one year's standing to wear a white mantle decorated with the cross of the fraternity, presumably only at gild functions. So far as can be made out from a defective manuscript, the gild brethren assembled for a procession before high mass on Trinity Sunday, bearing with them a "flower" as an offering. This "flower" was to be a jewel of such value as the devotion of the fraternity would allow. If the person who ought to make the offering were dead or away for lawful cause the "flower" was to be carried by the subprior of the monks. This and all other such "flowers" as had been or should be afterwards given were not to be taken away or changed without leave both of the fraternity and of the prior and convent. Because of the great devotion of the gild it was admitted into confraternity with the convent and had full participation in the benefits of their prayers and devotions. The connection between the brotherhood and the convent was evidently very close.

More curious than any was a custom of the gild of St. Martin at Stamford, the origin of which had been entirely forgotten, of providing a bull yearly on St. Martin's Day. Prior to the holding of the gild feast the bull was hunted and then sold for the profit of the fraternity. This custom was evidently of great popularity, for it survived the dissolution of the gild and lasted until the Puritan era.¹

Some few of the gilds required their members to make bequests to them. That of St. Mary at Chesterfield asked

¹ Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, p. 192.

for twelve pence in the pound on the valuation of effects up to a maximum bequest of forty shillings. Exception was made in the case of the effects not being of greater value than twenty shillings. Other gild rules do not mention a fixed sum or rate in all cases, but leave the amount to the generosity and devotion of the brother. Others, again, ask for, but do not require bequests to be made. Throughout the history of the gilds, however, bequests were common enough. Extracts from wills containing such may be numbered in thousands.

The one solitary return from the county of Lancashire, that of the gild of the Holy Trinity and St. Leonard at Lancaster, does not give the date of its foundation, but states that its ordinances were made in 1377. While similar to the rules of other gilds in the matter of its meetings and religious observances, it contains three rules which occur in no other of the existing returns, and which seem to belong to a far earlier date. The honour of the women of the gild was to be a matter of concern to all the brethren, who were enjoined not only to observe personal purity, but to refuse admission to their homes to those who were known to be adulterers.

For the most part the gilds founded in this period exhibit a similarity of aim and practice which calls for little comment on individual fraternities. It was a period of reconstruction undertaken in difficult and unstable times, but it may be said with some approximation to certainty that the gild records do not in the least degree reflect the currents of new thought which were beginning to agitate the intellectual world.

CHAPTER IV

THE RETURNS OF 1389

IN 1388, by the authority of a parliament held at Cambridge, Richard II. issued a writ requiring that masters and wardens of all gilds and brotherhoods should send to the Royal Chancery before the Feast of the Purification, 1389, a return describing the foundation and form of government of the gilds over which they presided. They were to state also the oath of entry, describe their feasts and meetings, liberties and customs, give a list of all their property whether in land, houses or goods, all other particulars with regard to their constitution, and copies of their charters or letters patent if they had any.

It does not appear for what purpose this information was required, as the good and reasonable causes mentioned in the writ are not specified. The costs of war abroad and at home, coupled with the personal extravagance of the King, may have suggested to the Commons that the property of the gilds in general and of the religious gilds in particular might well be taxed or confiscated to provide the much-needed money. There is something to support this suggestion in the action of the Parliament of 1385, when the Commons presented a petition setting forth the view that Church property was a proper object for State confiscation. The Black Death forty years earlier had so disorganised the system of land tenure that instances of infringement of the Statute of Mortmain might be expected to reveal themselves and provide an occasion for the infliction of heavy fines. Moreover, the rapid formation of gilds all over the country, when considered along with the strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction and revolt which prevailed at the time, may well have aroused

the royal suspicion that seditious societies were being formed under the guise of religious purposes.

These views are all reflected in the returns. It is evident that the gild brethren themselves could only conjecture as to the purpose of the writ, while the close similarity—in some cases an actual identity of words and phrases—which prevails amongst the returns from neighbouring towns and districts suggests that meetings were held for discussion before the returns were written out. For instance, the five surviving returns from Gloucestershire, those from Cirencester, Tetbury, and Tewkesbury, all claim for these gilds a foundation in the time of Edward III. and exhibit an obvious agreement as to what should be said. Their purpose was purely religious—namely, to employ chaplains to celebrate for their welfare—and they are silent as to all else except their licenses to hold lands. Four of the fraternities of Yarmouth¹ protest in uniform language that they are not gilds at all, in that they have no provisions, ordinances, or constitutions, nor any oath binding them together. Moreover, they have no rents or possessions, though one of them has ten pounds in money. They call themselves societies. A similar plea is advanced by the gild of St. Bridget in St. Bridget's Church, Fleet Street, which gives, indeed, a long list of its religious usages, but asserts that though certain people style it a fraternity it is not really so, and its assembly on the Feast of the Translation of St. Bridget is for no malicious purpose. The gild of St. Mary in the same church likewise asserts that it is not in reality a fraternity. Two of the Northampton gilds imply that it is not worth while to interfere with them, for they are poor little fraternities.² Five gilds had as their object the maintenance of the church fabric, and in each of the three places where they were located the church roof would soon have to be rebuilt, therefore they pray, for the sake of God, that they may not be disturbed. The gild of St. George at Yarmouth endeavours to anticipate any possible action by asserting that its archives have been inspected and the rule examined expressly to see if anything was therein contained

¹ Appendix: Certificates, 374-377.

² *Paupercula fraternitas.*

contrary to law. Three gilds at Northampton recite the constitution of the town and claim that as a royal borough its burgesses may bequeath money or lands for ecclesiastical as well as secular objects. Other gilds protest that their brethren swear an oath of obedience to the law or that they have no evil intent in their meetings, or, as at Tideswell, they have no meetings at all. The chantry in St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, puts in the plea that it has already paid a fine of twenty pounds for a pardon for the alienation of lands without license.

The effect of the royal writ upon the craft-gilds was to stir many of them to petition for legal incorporation, but no action seems to have been taken against the religious fraternities. Thus the chief result of the writ was to provide a valuable and still unexhausted mine of information as to the religious and social habits of the age of Wycliffe. Large numbers of the returns must have perished, but there still remain those of five hundred and seven gilds, only a few of which were craft-gilds, and the great similarity in essentials which these bear to each other suggests that nothing necessary to a proper understanding of the gild system is lacking by reason of the loss of others.

The returns come from twenty-five counties, but unfortunately seven of these are represented only by a single gild. The county of Norfolk heads the list with 164 returns, followed by Lincolnshire with 123, Cambridgeshire with 60 and Suffolk with 39, while of the individual towns Lynn is easily first with 51. It is, of course, to be remembered that the Eastern Counties were more closely populated than the rest of the country, but none the less it will be obvious that the existing returns from these are out of all proportion to those that survive from other parts.

Two questions arise at once in the consideration of these returns. What was the true nature of the societies which are here depicted? and, What part did the gild play in the life of the brethren and sisters?

It has been customary among several writers to deny that the epithet *religious* is an adequate or even correct description

of the many gilds, other than the frith and craft gilds, of the pre-Reformation period. "The third class of gilds," writes Thorpe,¹ after describing the two latter classes, "bears with due allowance for difference of times and manners a close resemblance to the Friendly or Benefit Societies or clubs of our working-classes, though composed of persons of a higher grade and containing more of the religious element than these." Mr. Toulmin Smith, who was the first to bring these gild returns to notice, described the gilds as "in no sense superstitious foundations; that is, they were not founded, like Monasteries and Priories, for men devoted to what were deemed religious exercises, . . . they were lay bodies and existed for lay purposes."

The utmost that he would allow was that their constitutions "gave evidence of a simple piety and of a faith that entered into everyday life." With these views his friend Dr. F. J. Furnivall expressed his entire concurrence: "To have called them 'Religious' because of their ornament of a saint's name," he wrote, "would have seemed to him and me a monstrous contradiction, in the days of Chaucer and Wycliffe, of William who had the Vision of Piers the Plowman, and others who have left us records of what Romanism, with its monks and friars, practically then was in England."

Following, seemingly without any examination, the views here expressed, Cardinal Gasquet describes the gilds as "the benefit societies and provident associations of the Middle Ages."² Other writers refer to them as burial clubs.

Moreover, Miss L. Toulmin Smith, interpreting her father's views,³ writes that "though it was . . . very general to provide more or less for religious purposes, these are to be regarded as incidental only."

Such views have been accepted without sufficient examination by writers on social and economic questions on the authority which rightly attaches to the learning of their authors, but in the more than half a century which has elapsed

¹ *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, preface.

² *Parish Life in Mediæval England*, p. 256.

³ *English Gilds* : Introduction, pp. xxviii, xxix.

since such views were formulated much information has come to light to challenge their accuracy, which, indeed, did not remain unchallenged at the time.¹

Before embarking upon any controversy, it is of course above all things necessary to define one's terms. By the description *Benefit Society* is meant to-day, an association of individuals who by a regular subscription to a corporate fund insure for themselves a certain material return in case of sickness or want. The funds of the society exist for no other purpose and its balance is devoted to strengthening the financial position of the society and is advertised as an inducement for new members. By a *Burial Club* is meant an association managed on similar lines for the sole purpose of providing a sum of money to defray the costs of the funerals of its members.

The aspect of the gild as a benefit society may be taken first. A careful study of the Appendix will shew that a large number of the gilds state the primary purpose of their foundation. It is noteworthy that only one puts the assistance of brethren in distress as its first object—a return in English which for some reason does not appear among the collection printed by Mr. Toulmin Smith. The gild of the Holy Trinity in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, founded in 1384, was begun in love and charity and in help to them that fall in poverty of God's sending, and also for other deeds of charity that are acceptable to God. The ordinance relating to charitable help runs as follows:

"If any of our bretherin or sustren fallen in nounpower thrugh auentoure of godesonde, thorugh fer or robberye or syknesse or euel happenes of the world and may nouht him selven helpen, he schal haue eche wyke ther whiles he leueth of the almesse box to his sustinance vjd. ob. and also an hood onys ayer."

In return for his weekly allowance of 6½d. he was to pray for all the brothers and sisters, quick and dead. In addition to this possible expenditure in charity the gild maintained

¹ Cf. Brentano, "History and Development of Gilds," in *English Gilds*, pp. lxxxiii.-lxxxv.

a light in the church and at times a chaplain. Any poor man or woman of the parish who died without the "wherewithal to bury himself" was provided with two tapers at the expense of the gild. Here definitely is an instance of a benefit society, though obviously the gild subscriptions were not earmarked for that sole end.

Of the 507 returns only 154 promise help in money or in kind to those in need. That is to say that to less than 31 per cent. of the total is the description *Benefit Society* in any way applicable. It will appear that it is not a fitting description even of these. Some state the actual amount to be given, others merely say generally that they will assist, others, again, that monetary help will depend on the gild funds. Some modify the amount to be given according to the number of poor persons requiring assistance, while others confine their help to specific gifts on a limited number of occasions or to members of a certain number of years' standing. Length of membership as a qualification for assistance was required in the rules of many gilds founded in the next century, and seems to imply the attempt of needy folk to exploit the gild system for their own ends, and perhaps also that such assistance was to be regarded as only incidental to the gild purpose.

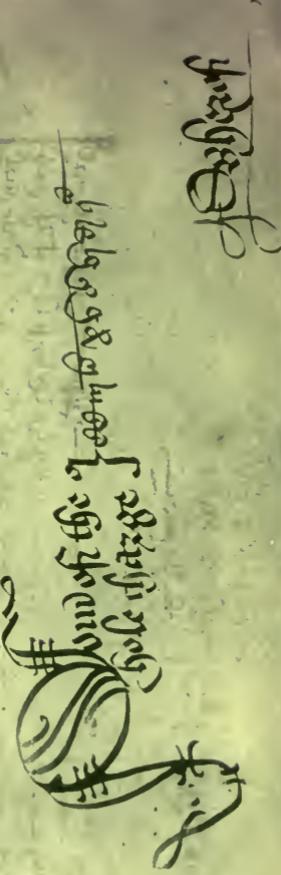
To take one or two instances, the *Poor Men's Gild* at Norwich offers the temporary help of 3d. a week, but the rule expressly states that the purpose of the gild foundation was the help and amendment of the poor parish church of St. Austin. The *Gild of Young Scholars* at Lynn promises help as far as its goods will suffice; but, again, the express purpose of the gild is stated to be the maintenance of an image of St. William standing in a tabernacle, before which six tapers shall burn on each festival day. It can hardly be questioned that here is what Mr. Toulmin Smith would have called a superstitious purpose.

The absence of definite provision for charitable assistance does not, of course, necessarily imply the refusal of such assistance if required, for the natural instinct of men united in a spirit of brotherhood would be the exercise of charity.

towards the deserving among their number; but it is at least sufficient to shew that help of this kind was incidental rather than primary in the purpose of the gild's formation.

The gild of St. George at Norwich required each member to pay $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a week to the keepers of the fraternity, who would if necessary pay 8d. a week to a poor brother, but the balance was to be accumulated to make an image of St. George, an object somewhat remote from that of the modern friendly society, whose accumulated funds represent its guarantee of security. No gild at all presents such an accumulation as an object for the attraction of new members.

Apart, however, from the rules, which are not necessarily the best guide as to the nature of a gild, there are other considerations which must carry considerable weight. The craft-gilds made provisions similar to those of the religious gilds, alike for charity and for religious observances, but it would not be accurate to describe them either as benefit societies or as religious gilds for those reasons. Moreover, the various grants of pardons and indulgences which were made to the religious gilds were evidently made to them in their character as such, and it is to be remembered that the excuse made for their final dissolution was that their possessions were given and used for superstitious purposes. The admission of the dead into fraternity, characteristic both of this and the following century and a half, could only have one object, while the innumerable bequests of which the gilds were the recipients had the universal condition attached to them of masses and prayers to be performed for the souls of the donors. An examination of a considerable number of the accounts rendered by wardens of gilds of their receipts and expenditure yields singularly few instances of alms given to sick or needy brethren, except in the case of those gilds which maintained almshouses and admitted the inmates to fraternity, while expenditure upon requiems and masses for the dead is common to nearly all. Such expenditure is what would be expected, for the gild rules almost universally prescribe, some with meticulous exactness, the religious rites to be observed for dead brethren.



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If necessary, the corpse must be fetched from a distance, lights must be kept burning round the hearse and carried with the body in procession to the church, accompanied by the brethren and sisters. The members must attend the dirge and mass and give soul-alms. Such was the minimum tribute paid by many of the gilds to their dead. Should a brother die in poverty, some of the gilds would pay the expenses of the burial, while others actually extended such kindness to any poor person dying in the parish or town. In some cases a number of masses were promised for the dead and the month's and year's minds were kept. Many gilds provided for a yearly mass of requiem for all dead members. This mass was sung on the gild day before its social meeting or else on the morrow. At the gild feast the names of the dead were read out and prayer offered for them and for all Christian souls, the gild light burning the while. The gild priest was often instructed to keep on the altar a kalendar or table of the dead, so that he might make a special memorial of them.

Doubtless the men of the fourteenth century loved the pomp of burial as well as did those of the nineteenth, and found a certain pride in it a solace in loss. For this, indeed, the gild system provided, but it is hardly accurate to describe the religious gild as a burial society for that reason. The promise of mass, prayer and alms for the dead, is practically universal in the gild returns for whatever direct purpose the gild was founded, and there is not a single hint anywhere that the teachings of Wycliffe and others had ever been heard of by the gild-brethren. Their influence in the country was reserved for a later day. Allowing for much difficulty in classification and a certain variety of development in different localities, it seems legitimate to conclude that the religious gilds were formed for spiritual rather than for material benefits. It is evident that the strongest bond that united the brethren was their belief in the efficacy of masses and alms for the dead, and the value of the invocation of those saints under whose protection they had enrolled themselves. That the offices for the dead were not to be merely the

vicarious performance of the priest in return for payment is evident in many gild rules, some of which direct prayers to be said privately by the brethren on the way to the church, while others lay definite obligations upon their members. For example, the gild of St. Katherine at Norwich provides that those brethren who were *lettered* should say the *Placebo* and *Dirige* for the soul, and the uneducated twenty *Paternosters* and *Aves*.

Perhaps the best description of a religious gild of the fourteenth and earlier centuries would be a "co-operative chantry," though this description would not cover by any means all the gild devotions.

While not asserting that the objects in each case formed the primary purpose of the gild, we find fraternities in existence in 1389 which maintained bridges as at Stamford, founded schools as at Basingstoke or almshouses as at Stratford, built churches as at Cambridge or repaired them as at Winchester, performed religious plays as at Dunstable or engaged in the special Processions of Corpus Christi as at Ipswich. These, together with other objects which to-day would seem to have little connection with religion, were performed by the gilds under its direct auspices. The foundation of a new college in a university would not to-day be considered a religious object, but when in the middle of the fourteenth century the ancient gild of St. Mary at Cambridge united with the gild of Corpus Christi to found the college still known by the name of the latter, the object was undoubtedly religious in character.

Education was solely in the hands of the Church and provision for it a religious duty, whether that provision were made by a religious fraternity or by a craft-gild, for only so could the priesthood be recruited; and it is not surprising to find among gild records frequent reference to the maintenance of a schoolmaster or the injunction that the gild priest should educate the children, or the actual support of a grammar school at the sole charges of the gild as governing body.

Such gilds as could afford it employed the services of a

chaplain, and had an altar of their own in the church in which they were located. The ultimate effect of this, under regulations which will presently be noted, was the provision of what to-day would be called an assistant curate. In larger churches in which several gilds might be located a regular choir of priests was thus formed from the several gild chaplains, and doubtless the whole of such a choir could be hired to sing at the High Mass on the feast day of any single gild. It is important to observe that in many of the gilds priests were expressly excluded from holding any gild office. Indeed, the gild of the Annunciation at Cambridge actually excluded priests from membership—and, it may be remarked, bakers and their wives also! The gild chaplain was the gild's paid servant and no more. The reason for this doubtless lay in the social status of the clergy themselves and the anti-clerical movement which marked the fourteenth century. Many of the lower clergy, from which class the gild priests would be recruited, were given over to a carelessness and worldliness of life little likely to commend them to the sober townsfolk forming a religious gild, or to gain for them that influence which would carry them to any position of authority in the gild itself. They were necessary to the gild in that they alone, by virtue of their office, could fulfil a large portion of the gild purpose, but beyond that they were relegated to a comparatively inferior position and deprived definitely of the opportunity of acquiring a pride of place such as their ecclesiastical superiors had attained in the higher offices of state. It is satisfactory to note that in many instances the gilds place on record their satisfaction with the services rendered them by their chaplains, in some cases making them "free" of the gild and in others providing them with a life office or an adequate pension. On the other hand, instances are not uncommon of the rector of a parish becoming the warden of a gild or of gilds founded by priests, who in consequence held office in them.

The system of the endowment of chantries and of the appointment of gild priests provided considerable temptation to the less scrupulous among the clergy. He who had no

other duties than the offering of masses in chantries or gild chapels found himself in a position of no little profit and of no very strenuous occupation. He was not bound to a cure of souls which would occupy some of his leisure time. He was tempted to undertake the offering of more masses than he could conveniently say or sing; to neglect those studies whose end was an instruction of the people which he never had to give; and, finally, for want of occupation, to spend his many spare hours in taverns or in places less reputable. Moreover, the parish priest of the village or smaller town was tempted to resign his cure, in default of letting it to another, and to betake himself to the cities, where far more lucrative employment awaited him.

Writing towards the close of the fourteenth century, Chaucer holds up for admiration the Parson who did none of these things, who was a "shepherde and no mercenarie," who

" Sette nat his benefice to hyre
 And leet his sheep encombed in the myre,
 And ran to London unto seynte Poules
 To seken him a chaunterie for soules,
 Or with a bretherherd to been witholde
 But dwelte at hoom."¹

His picture of the ideal Parson implies the existence in too large numbers of the less worthy, and, indeed, but a few years earlier the Archbishop of Canterbury had written to the Bishop of London in the following terms:

" We are certainly informed by common fame and experience that modern priests through covetousness and love of ease, not content with reasonable salaries, demand excessive pay for their labour and receive it; and do so despise labour and study pleasure that they wholly refuse to serve as parish priests in churches and chapels or to attend the cure of souls, though fitting salaries are offered them, that they may live in a leisurely manner by celebrating annals for the quick and the dead."

The Archbishop² accordingly fixed the salaries of such chaplains at five marks and those of parish priests at six.

¹ Prologue, 507.

² Johnson, *English Canons*: Constitutions of Archbishop Simon Islip, A.D. 1362.

Eighteen years later Archbishop Simon Sudbury, "taking into consideration the condition of the times," saw reason to increase these salaries to seven marks and eight marks respectively, but was careful to preserve the distinction made by Islip.

Earlier in the same century Archbishop Robert de Winchelsea found it necessary to order the attendance of chaplains at matins, vespers and other offices in the Church.¹ They were to be clad in surplices and take their place in the chancel and not in the body of the church, nor in the churchyard or fields. He hints, too, at difficulties of a different character in requiring them to swear, if called upon, to do no damage to the churches or chapels, to rectors or vicars, in the matter of perquisites, oblations and so forth, and also not to raise hatred, scandals or contentions, between rectors and parishioners. It will be convenient to observe here that in 1444 Archbishop Kemp² required chaplains to read the lessons, epistles and gospels, at High Mass as might be assigned to them by the parish priests, and to spend their vacant time at their books and not in certain specified improper pursuits.

The officers of the gild of the Holy Trinity, SS. Fabian and Sebastian, in St. Botolph's Without, thought it well to incorporate in their gild rule the requirement that their priest should be obedient in the quire and follow the custom of other such priests in the city (see p. 72).

It is easy to imagine the nature of the difficulties that might arise between the chaplains—who were, so to speak, "intruded" by the gilds—and the parish priests, to whom they might be said to owe certain duties and little or no allegiance. That such difficulties were not characteristic of the fourteenth century alone becomes clear from a memorandum in the Accounts for 1504 of the Churchwardens of St. Michael's, Cornhill. The memorandum is entitled, "For Reformacion of divers disorders as wele of the Churchwardens and of the Wardeyns of the Brotherhodes w'ynne the parish Church of Saint Mighell, . . ." and specifies amongst other agree-

¹ Constitutions, A.D. 1305, *ibid.*

² Constitutions, A.D. 1404, *ibid.*



ments that no churchwarden or gild warden should put any priest in service in the church without the assent of the parson or his deputy and four or five of the most ancient and worshipfullest of the parish, on pain of a fine of ten shillings.

It is possible that the parson who "ran to London unto seynte Poules" did not hope for a chantry in the cathedral itself, as most commentators on Chaucer have imagined. Various references in gild accounts lead to the conclusion that in the cathedral or its precinct was a regular meeting-place for wardens who desired to hire or priests who desired to be engaged for duties such as the wardens had to offer. The masters of the gild of the Assumption in St. Margaret's, Westminster, record¹ that they took boat to London to have priests for the brotherhood and the church, and on another occasion² that they paid their beadle fourpence to set up certain bills in London for a priest, thus pointing to the city as a recognised centre.

¹ Gild MSS., *f.* 64, author's transcript.

² *Ibid.*, *f.* 136.

CHAPTER V

THE GILDS OF CORPUS CHRISTI

THE Feast of Corpus Christi was founded by Pope Urban IV. about the year 1264. It was to be celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and the chief perhaps the sole ceremony designed for it was a procession of the Blessed Sacrament with all possible pomp and splendour. Indulgences were granted to those who took part in its observance and gilds soon began to be formed with the special object of celebrating it.

The first of these of which record remains was founded at Norwich in 1278 by the devotion of the chaplains of the collegiate church of St. Mary. On the feast they held a solemn procession and mass, and each bound himself to say daily an antiphon of Corpus Christi with versicle and collects. Another gild was founded at Bury St. Edmunds in 1317, and probably a third. At Louth in 1326 the brethren are found to be carrying six candles about the shrine of the Body of Christ in the yearly procession. These gilds were simple religious fraternities, but the observance of the feast was not confined to them, for in 1328 the Tailors' Gild at Lincoln enrolled themselves in devotion to the Blessed Body of Christ and had a procession yearly on the feast. In 1343 Robert Chaundos of Coventry, with others, received the royal license to begin and have a gild in honour of the Precious Body and Blood of Christ. On the feast they agreed to don a livery and go in procession through the town, bearing eight torches about the shrine. Their gild meeting was held at the palace of the diocesan Bishop, which implies at least episcopal approval of their doings.

It is sometimes asserted that the new festival was slow in

winning its way in England, but, as a matter of fact, sufficient evidence is lacking for or against such a statement. Sixty-five certificates can be definitely assigned as relating to gilds founded before 1349, and of these seven are gilds of Corpus Christi. Internal evidence in thirteen undated returns of gilds of this dedication suggests that some of them also belong to this period. Out of the total number of the certificates no less than forty-one are of gilds of Corpus Christi. When the dedications are examined this comes third in popularity, ranking after gilds of the Blessed Virgin and of the Holy Trinity.

An interesting if not very evidential comparison may be made at once. The canonisation of St. Thomas of Canterbury took place some ninety years before the Feast of Corpus Christi came into being. The story of St. Thomas appealed vividly to the popular imagination, and it would seem likely that gilds in his honour would spring up in a large number of places. They probably did, and certainly one was founded at Wymondham two years before the death of Henry II., but only the records of four remain which can with certainty be assigned to a date before 1349.

Some of the gilds of Corpus Christi owed their origin directly to the Black Death. Let the master of the gild in the church of St. Margaret at Lynn speak for his own gild:

“ In the great pestilence which was at Lynn in 1349, in which the greater part of the people in the same town died, three men [seeing that] the venerated Sacrament of the Body of Christ was being carried through the town with only a single candle of poor wax burning in front of It, whereas two great candles of the best wax are barely sufficient, deemed this so improper that they ordained certain lights for It when carried by night or day in the visitation of the sick.”

Thus a gild was formed and on the vigil of Corpus Christi the tabernacle was brought with special honour and the Blessed Sacrament placed therein with proper lights to burn in front of It.

The good folk who in quaint old French describe themselves as “ the little company of the Corpus Christi light ” in St. Giles, Cripplegate, owed their foundation to one John Balauncer in 1352. Balauncer, having “ a great devotion

to and affection for the Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ, assembled some good people of the parish who had a great wish to do some honour and reverence to the Sacred Body, . . . and they began to provide a light." When their money allowed they would have a chaplain, but meanwhile when one of the little company shall die they will spend thirty pence for a trental of masses for his soul.

Within a few years after 1389 developments took place which gave certain of the Corpus Christi gilds a place of their own among the purely religious fraternities. Those at York, Shrewsbury, Chester, and many other big towns, attained to a fame which spread throughout England. The reason is not far to seek. The procession of the Blessed Sacrament offered an opportunity for that magnificence which the Mediæval Church knew so well how to display. This was obviously most easily attained by the co-operation of as large a number of persons as possible. It was consequently in the larger towns that these gilds came into special prominence. In so doing they ceased to be more than nominally parochial, and were made up of the townsfolk generally who might be members of other gilds as well, while the craft-gilds were wont to provide their shares of the pageants which soon came to be displayed in the special procession of the feast. For instance, in the Corpus Christi procession at Shrewsbury, in 1478, among the crafts represented were the millers, bakers, cooks, butchers, and shearmen. Among the properties of a Lincoln gild¹ in 1564 occur the following:

" Hell mouth with a nether chap, a prison with a coveryng, Sara's chambre, a greate idoll with a clubb, a tombe with a coveryng, the citie of Jerusalem with towers and pynacles . . . a fyrmament with a fierye clowde and a duble clowde. . . ."

The interesting origin of the Corpus Christi gild at Ipswich has been already mentioned.² In the religious constitution granted to it in 1325 by the priors of the Holy Trinity and St. Peter the ordinances regulating the observance of the feast are singularly full. The gild was constituted in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin and All Saints, and

¹ Lincoln, *Ancient Cities Series*. E. Mansel Sympson. ² See p. 21.

more especially for the reverence and commemoration of the Institution of the Sacrament of the venerated Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. On the fifth day after the Octave of Pentecost, when Holy Church is especially concerned with this Sacrament, the priors with their monks will come at nine o'clock, or immediately after, with heads and beards newly shorn, wearing rich hoods, to the church of the Holy Trinity in one year and to that of St. Peter in the next, and join in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament, to stir the devotion of the faithful and emphasise the deplorable state of heretics. Headed by the parish priest with cross and banners, they will carry the Tabernacle from the one church to the other and then back again, when they will hear mass. If the weather will not permit of the procession in the prescribed form, it is not to take place that year. The constitution goes on to set out the ceremonies to be observed on Maundy Thursday. The priors and all the priests of Ipswich shall assemble at the church of St. Mary-le-Tower immediately after dinner, to perform the Maundy (mandatum) after the use of Salisbury. Poor men to the number of thirteen at the least are to be seated in the choir, and while the gospel is read the priests shall divide up and form in the manner of a procession. The officiating priest meanwhile shall make ready to wash the feet of one poor man. Then the two priests next to the officiant on the north and south respectively shall await his return from the washing, and without undue haste proceed to the performance of the same humble office, and so for all in turn. When the washing was done each poor man was to receive a penny.

Some further regulations follow of the customary kind as to the obligation of attendance at mass for dead brethren and the provision of candles.

It would seem that at one period of its existence as a gild merchant the gild had become somewhat slack in its religious observances. At a date unspecified, but probably in the year 1473, an attempt was made to revive the religious side of the gild's activities, and certain rules were drawn up. It was set forth that from a time to which man's memory

did not reach the gild had been accustomed to have its own priest to perform its obits and requiems. It had attended yearly at the church of St. Mary-le-Tower for a general obit, as well as for the funeral observances of individual brethren, and after the general obit a feast had been held at the *capitolium* or gildhall. This "customary" had ceased and become obsolete, to the great reproach and detriment of the gild. It was accordingly to be revived and the ancient habits of the gild restored in exactly their original form. A chaplain was to be appointed, at a salary of nine marks a year, to perform the general obit and other masses, and also to say a trental of masses in any church where a brother or sister should be brought for burial. The feast was to be restored, and each brother was to pay sixteen pence for himself and his wife as a gild subscription, covering the cost of the dinner and other needs of the gild. A guest might be introduced at a cost of fourpence. In 1482 it was ordered that any burgess not paying the subscription annually should lose his privileges.¹ By order of the Borough Court the various trades were admitted to the procession, and a list of the crafts taking part in 1492 shews some curious combinations. For instance, the Barbers, Waxchandlers and Painters, marched under the banner of St. Thomas; the merchants, mariners and brewers, had a ship as their sign, while under the banner of St. George were seven gilds including crafts as diverse as plumbers, saddlers and armourers. After the craftsmen came the Friar's Carmelites, Preachers and Minors, then the Tabernacle with the two Priors of Holy Trinity and St. Peter, followed by the Bailiffs and Portmen.

The documentary records of the gild of Corpus Christi at York are in some respects so complete that this gild may well serve as an illustration of the class to which it belongs. It was founded in 1408 by the clergy of York, and dedicated to the praise and honour of the most sacred Body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Its purpose is clearly set out in the certificate² of the King's Commissioners in 1546:

¹ *Ipse erit abjuratus burgensie sue imperpetuum.*

² Surtees Society, vol. 57, from which much of the following information is derived.

"The same is founded for a master and vj preistes called kepers of ye sayd guylde, w^{ch} master and kepers be yerly removable wⁱⁿ Octaves, of the Feast of Corpus Christi and have for themselves no allowance nor fees. Nevertheles they are bounde to kepe a solempne processyon, the Sacrament beyng in a shryne borne in the same thorough ye citye of Yorke yerly ye Friday after Corpus Christi day, and the day after to have a solempne Mass and Dyryge to pray for ye prosperyte of brothers and sistres lyvinge and ye souls departed, and to kepe yerly x poor folke . . . and further they do fynde dayly viij beddes for the lodgyng of poore peopple beyng straungers and be charged wth ye kepyng of one poore woman kepyng the sayd beddes."

The first words of this quotation strike a new note. In the large majority of cases, as has been already observed, the clergy were allowed no part in the governance of the gilds. The difference here is probably to be explained by the fact that the York gild was founded by the clergy themselves, both secular and regular, while the special purpose of the gild might well be considered a function such as only the clergy were competent to direct.

From the year of its foundation until its dissolution it was so governed. Year by year some rector, vicar, chantry chaplain or other priest, was chosen as master, and six others as assistants or "keepers" from among the clergy of York or its neighbourhood. That the choice was made out of a sufficient number is everywhere evident from the surprising number of clergy included in its election rolls. Seventy-five clergy are named among those entering in the first year as chaplains, nine more are added in the second year, while in the year 1492 more than sixty new clerical brethren were elected to the gild.

Among those who were admitted in 1412-13 was Thomas Spofforth, abbot of St. Mary's, who subsequently held the See of Hereford from 1422 until 1448, when he retired and came back to spend the remaining years of his life in his old monastery. His gifts to the gild were many and costly. Among them was a silver-gilt shrine, enriched with jewels and decorated with images of the Trinity, the Blessed Virgin,

St. Mary Magdalen, St. Lawrence, and other saints, which was valued at £256. Doubtless this shrine was used for its sacred purpose in the Corpus Christi procession.

In 1453 was admitted William Booth, Archbishop of York from 1452 until 1464, while the gild at various times numbered among its members the abbots of Whitby, Fountains, St. Oswald's, Coverham, Rievaulx, and other monasteries, together with innumerable dignitaries of the Church, while among layfolk the most notable was Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III.

In the course of about one hundred and forty years nearly seventy thousand persons joined the fraternity, which is sufficient evidence of the extraordinary popularity which it enjoyed, presumably to the no small profit of the city.

It does not appear that the gild had any habitation of its own until 1478, when the officers and brethren of the old Hospital of St. Thomas of Canterbury at York conveyed their house and all their property to the gild and became themselves members of it. Doubtless the Corpus Christi gild assumed the obligations to which the brethren of the hospital were bound, and doubtless also this is the explanation of the later portion of the gild certificate quoted above, which tells of the charitable acts performed towards the poor.

Prior to the foundation of the gild, York had already attained considerable celebrity for the pageants enacted by the craft-gilds, so much so that the pleasure-loving monarch Richard II. thought them worthy of a visit in 1397. It is probable, though not certain, that they were already shewn in company with a Corpus Christi procession, and it has been suggested that the foundation of the gild was not unconnected with a desire to regulate the somewhat unseemly revellings which were wont to disgrace the keeping of the feast, and to ensure a better atmosphere of devotion.

That this attempt, if it existed, was not successful is evident from the fact that about the year 1423 a certain William Melton, one of the Friars Minor, delivered a series of sermons against the excesses which characterised the feast. As a result of his denunciations the city council resolved that the

pageants should be separated from the Corpus Christi procession, the former to take place on the eve of the festival and the latter on the feast itself. The citizens were ready enough to agree to the separation of the two functions, possibly because they were thus assured of two holidays in place of one, but they would not acquiesce in the particular arrangements for the separation, and insisted that the pageants should be performed on the feast and the Corpus Christi procession deferred until the Friday. The gild certificate shews that their opposition was successful.

Let us now look at the procession prior to this separation. The various bodies concerned have assembled about 4.30 a.m.—“at the mydhour betwix iiiijth and vth of the cloke”—before the gates of the Priory of the Holy Trinity in Micklegate. Orders are given that one pageant is to follow another without any delay. At the head of the procession is a priest carrying the cross, attended by two boys with candles. Following him are the parochial clergy in surplices. Next comes the Master of the gild in a cope of white silk, with a Past-Master on either side of him. Then come the six keepers of the gild with silk stoles, carrying white wands. In their midst is the Shrine with the Host borne by two men under a canopy, with an additional escort of four clerics and six men bearing torches. The singers follow after and are reinforced by such of the parochial clergy as are able to join with them. Then come the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with other city officials, also attended by torch-bearers. Next are the various pageants, each played by a separate craft-gild, though in two or three cases two gilds have combined to produce one pageant. The first eleven scenes shewn belong to the Old Testament, beginning with the creation of heaven and earth. The third shews the creation of Adam and Eve, the eighth the building of Noah's ark, and the last Moses and the Children of Israel before Pharaoh. Thirty-nine pageants follow, beginning with the Annunciation and passing through various scenes in the life of Jesus Christ on to His appearance to the doubting Thomas. Among these is the *Spoliacio Inferni* or *Harrowing of Hell*.¹

¹ See p. 51.

Seven other scenes follow which depict the Ascension of Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin, and conclude with the Last Judgment.

From the Priory the procession makes its way to the Cathedral, and thence to the Hospital of St. Leonard, where the Blessed Sacrament is deposited.

It must be supposed that considerations of time would prevent any but the shortest speeches by the players, for twelve "stations" were fixed on the route, at each of which the mystery was presented.

For some years the twelve "stations" remained fixed, but in 1417 the city council resolved that it would be more to the profit of the city if the stations were not always in the same place, and accordingly these were sold to the highest bidders. In 1478 the highest bid was six shillings and five pence. This was made for the third station, and the citizen who thus ensured the performance of the pageants before his front door doubtless made no little money from those who hired the seats which he would be wise enough to provide. On this occasion the eighth station fetched only two shillings and fourpence, while the others varied in price between the two limits.

The members of the Corpus Christi gild were not allowed to interfere in any way with the pageants of the craft-gilds, but to compensate in part for this they had a mystery play of their own. This was known as the Crede or Credo play, and was bequeathed to them by a chantry priest named William Revetor. Its performance took place every tenth year, generally on Lammas Day (August 1), and in this year the pageants were suspended, half of the moneys subscribed for their performance being paid over to the assistance of the gild. It seems probable that the Crede play was given in twelve scenes, according to the old fancy that each of the twelve apostles was responsible for a portion of the Creed. Such scenes would depict the Creation, the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and so on, and would be on a sufficiently generous scale to compensate for the loss of the pageants. It may be added that enumerated among the

properties of the gild are “*xij rotulae super scriptæ cum articulis fidei catholicae.*”

Both the pageants and the Crede play survived the dissolution of the gild in 1547, and were performed at intervals from that date until 1580, when they finally disappear.

The Hospital of St. Thomas remained unaffected by the dissolution, and was able to retain its possessions for some thirty years after. It then passed into the hands of certain citizens of London on a grant from the Crown, and thence to the Corporation of York for the relief of the poor. The actual buildings were only demolished in 1862.

Among the possessions of the gild was a large *mazer*, or drinking bowl, for use at the gild feast. Such bowls were comparatively common among the property of gilds. The gild of St. Mary at Boston possessed two, one of which was adorned with an image of the Deity sitting in judgment, surrounded by the four evangelists, while the Holy Trinity gild at Coventry had five. The York bowl was known as the Pardon Mazer,¹ because of the inscription on it, which recorded various grants of pardons to those who should drink of it moderately, presumably at the gild feast or other high days. Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York 1398-1405, granted such an indulgence of forty days, and similar grants were made by others. After the banquet in the gildhall the warden filled the cup with wine or hippocras, and after drinking of it himself passed it round in the manner of the loving-cup. When it had gone round the whole circle all stood up and a grace was said, after which the gild priest recited the names of dead brethren and offered prayer for their souls.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century the Corpus Christi pageants had begun to lose their hold on the enthusiasm of the people. Life was slowly losing its more leisured aspect and becoming sobered, less by the spread of Puritan principles than by the pressure of business. It was natural that this loss of popularity should affect the townsfolk unequally. Some there were whose business was materially lessened by it. The cooks, brewers and innkeepers, viewed

¹ W. St. John Hope in *Mediæval Drinking-Bowls called Mazers.*

this decadence with dismay, so much so that at York in 1483 they contracted to bring forth yearly for eight years a pageant of their own, entitled *The Coronation of Our Lady*. The decay of the pageant spirit was characteristic of many of the larger towns where the craft-gilds no longer cared to bear their original shares. This is well illustrated by an ordinance passed at Canterbury in 1490, which is worth quotation.¹

" Be it remembered that when before this tyme ther hath bene by the most honourable and worshipfull the Cite of Canterbury used and continued within the same cite a play called Corpus Xpi play, as well to the honour of the same as to the profite of all vitelers and other occupacions within the same; which play before this tyme was maynteyned and plaide at the costs and charg of the crafts and misteris within the same cite; and whereas nowe of late daies it hath bene left and laide a part to the grete hurt and decay of the seide cite and for lack of good orderyng of certayn crafts within the same cite not corporate. Wherfore it is enacted, ordeyned and establisshed, that from hensforth every craft within the seide cite, being not corporate for their non suffi-
cience of their crafte, be associate, incorporate and adjoynyng to some other crafte moste nedynge support. . . ."

It was not only that the Corpus Christi procession lacked something of its former glory; the same decay had overtaken the celebrations of the pageants on the eve of the Feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, and this in the very town of his martyrdom. The authorities at Canterbury and at Plymouth tried coercive measures to instil fresh life into such celebrations, but with no great success. In the latter town, before the tailors could be incorporated as a craft in 1496 they had to bind themselves to provide a pageant yearly on the Feast of Corpus Christi for the benefit of the gild.

The simpler celebrations continued still, but their civic glory was gone for ever. They were not, perhaps, the worse for this from a religious point of view, but within a few years the very doctrine they existed to uphold was to become the subject of critical discussion and open disbelief.

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Appendix to Ninth Report, p. 174.

CHAPTER VI

SOME COUNTRY GILDS

THE religious gilds in the villages and smaller towns of England in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were to be numbered in thousands. It would be true to say that a church which was not the location of a gild was an exception, for the mediæval churches depended mainly on the gilds for all those devotions which were in any sense additional to that parochial worship which was common to all, and often also looked to them for the provision of those accessories which dignified the ordinary round of the parish services themselves.

The actual records of such gilds are scanty in substance. Oftentimes the only evidence of a gild's existence in a parish is a casual reference to it by the churchwardens in their accounts or an acknowledgment of some regular or special contribution towards the expenses of the church; but here and there may be found sufficient of their story to reconstruct a simple picture of observances, which not only formed an agreeable break in the monotony of village life, but also must have added not a little to the strength of the mediæval church and the influence which it held over the country districts until the Reformation was forced upon them from without.

In many a village three or four gilds were in existence at the same time. Their objects were simple in character, the most ambitious being the maintenance of a side-chapel in the parish church. A large majority contented themselves with the support of a light to burn either perpetually or on special days before the image of the saint in whose name

they were enrolled. Each separate light had its wardens, called *lightmen* or *husbands of the light*. They were the executive officers of small associations who bound themselves to contribute towards its support. These contributions were commonly made at a social gathering held on the feast-day at the conclusion of mass. At the yearly reckoning the balance was often handed over to the churchwardens for general purposes, a sum of twelve pence or so being retained for the immediate charges of the gild. This sum was called the *stock*, the amount at the end of the year being the *stock and the crece* (increase).

At Wing in Buckinghamshire the churchwardens in 1527 note that the lightmen to the rood light have 6s. 8d. remaining in their hands, and make mention also of the lightmen of St. Katharine and St. Margaret, St. Thomas and St. Mary Magdalen, and Our Lady. At Pilton in Somersetshire¹ three brotherhoods, those of Our Lady, St. John, and the High Light (rood light), account to a single warden for their contributions. At Tintenhull in the same county the brotherhood of St. Mary supported a Lady Chapel in the parish church. At Crocombe there were separate gilds of the young men, maidens, webbers, tuckers, archers, and hoggliers, or field-labourers, and an entry in accounts of 1483 acknowledge 6s. contributed at the "wyfe's dansyng." The audits of the first two gilds offer an amusing contrast: "*Comes the maydyngs and presents in xvjs. iiijd. ob., Comes yong men and presents nowgte!*" The deficiency on the part of the latter, however, probably was due to an omission of the yearly revel for some unrecorded cause.

The Maidens' Gild, as its name implies, was an association confined to the girls of the village. It united most commonly in some special devotion to the Blessed Virgin, as at Stratton in Cornwall, where the gild was styled *Our Lady's Maidens*.

In the poverty that ensued upon the Black Death some of the gilds, both in villages and towns, played a useful if small part in the work of amelioration. The combined funds of the brethren were often sufficient to purchase cows and sheep.

¹ Somersetshire Record Society, vol. iv.

These were hired out to different persons at a reasonable rate per year, to the profit both of the hirer and of the gild. At Eyam in Derbyshire the gild of Our Lady was possessed of oxen, which were let out for ploughing and other purposes. In cases where sheep or cattle were hired for breeding it was usual to make a deduction from the payment in case of sterility. This practice, however, would seem to have been open to abuse. The gild could not keep a watchful eye on all its cattle, and doubtless advantage was taken of this to avoid payment on the ground that the hiring had been profitless. Among the statutes of the gild of St. James at Dullingham in Cambridgeshire appears the following:

"Also whereas tymys paste dyvers personys hathe had of the bolokys of the gyld and at the rekenyng day hathe alleged and sayd that the bolokys hath goon sere myleche and had no calfe, by the w^{ch} the gylde hath had grett detriment, therefor it is agreed that whoso shall have any of them fro thys day forward shall pay 2s. a yere for the ferme whether yt or they go sere myleche or nott. . . ."

Cows, sheep, malt and barley, were frequently bequeathed to the gilds for the saying of obits and the maintenance of lights. In many cases also bequest was made of hives of bees, which served a double purpose, for not only could the honey be sold for the profit of the gild, but the wax could be used for the making of the gild candles.

The custom of holding such property continued right on to the dissolution of the gilds, doubtless because it proved a convenient form of investment in country districts. The rate of hire varied considerably in different localities. In the early sixteenth century the hire of a cow for a year in Kent was generally two shillings, while in the village of Bardwell in Suffolk it was only nineteen pence. In some cases the gilds advanced money to a member for the purchase of an animal, and at the end of the year required the payment of the loan, together with a year's hire.

The accounts of the gild of St. Peter at Bardwell¹ give

¹ Canon Warren, *Gild of St. Peter in Bardwell*, Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch., vol. ii.

an interesting picture of the life and activities of a village fraternity in the half-century preceding the Dissolution. It is probable that the majority of the parishioners belonged to the gild, while dwellers in neighbouring parishes were evidently not excluded, as in one list of members the names of three women occur as dwellers at Barningham, three miles away. It is likely that these were natives of Bardwell, but had married out of the village. The gild was presided over by an alderman, who held office for a year only. The vicar of the parish was a member of the gild, but is not recorded to have held office as alderman. The gild was able to afford a chaplain, who would almost certainly have acted as an assistant curate of the parish, though it is somewhat surprising that such an appointment should be made in a village of so few inhabitants, though the possession of a private chaplain was an ambition common enough to the fraternities. Besides these officials, a cook and a minstrel were appointed, each at a salary in money of one shilling and fourpence a year. The cook was charged usually with the care of the dishes, platters, cups and saucers, belonging to the gild, and for this an annual payment of fourpence was made. The duties of the minstrel are not described, but were doubtless connected with the social gatherings of the gild, which took place in a picturesque hall close to the church. This building still exists, but has been divided up into apartments for the accommodation of almsfolk. The gild supported a light in honour of St. Peter and five lights in honour of Our Lady of Pity, which would be lit at vespers and mass on the five feasts of the Virgin, and also at the antiphons. Two "Sepulchre men" or "guardians of the Holy Sepulchre" were elected annually, who would seem to have been the financial officers of the gild under the alderman. Besides rendering a yearly account of the gild receipts and expenditure, it was their business to maintain a light burning for the usual period by the Easter Sepulchre. Unfortunately none of the "counts" which the Sepulchre men are recorded to have made have survived, so that there exists no information as to the expenditure of the gild moneys. But an impression

is left by such documents as remain of a village society carefully ruled and with an orderly administration, quietly performing their religious obligations, living in charity together, and meeting for social relaxation at an annual if not more frequent gild feast.

Few of the village gilds made any attempt, so far as is known, to produce the miracle plays common enough in the towns, probably because their resources would not allow of the necessary expenditure. The gild of the Holy Trinity at Bassingbourn¹ in Cambridgeshire, however, undertook the performance of a play of St. George in 1511. The play was presented on the Feast of St. Margaret (July 20), and as her story, like that of St. George, is associated with a dragon, it is probable that her figure appeared in it. Towards the expenses of this production contribution was made by twenty-seven villages in the neighbourhood. The gild priest acted as director, and was paid two shillings and eightpence for his pains. It is not obvious why a gild dedicated to the Holy Trinity should produce a miracle play associated with the story of St. George, but the explanation probably lies in the fact that Bassingbourn had a market, and thus formed a centre for the inhabitants of neighbouring villages. Such a play would attract people to the town, to the profit of the tradesmen, and by its very nature and title make a wider appeal than any pageant connected with a saint less well known. The gild was founded some time in the fifteenth century and was the recipient of some generous bequests. An inventory of 1546 shews it to have been possessed of four houses, with more than two hundred acres in all of land attached to them, besides trees and sheep. Included in the inventory also are the various utensils used for the gild feast, sufficient in number to serve for more than a hundred brethren.

Of many village gilds whose returns were made in 1389, no further record exists, and few of them appear among the chantry certificates of 1546. In some cases they had served their purposes in repairing their churches and chapels

¹ W. M. Palmer, *Village Gilds of Cambridgeshire*, Camb. and Hunt. Arch. Soc., vol. i.

THE GILD HOUSE, BARDWELL, SUFFOLK.

To face p. 64.



and providing them with vestments and ornaments, and may have been dissolved in consequence. Some allowance, too, must be made for the personality and enthusiasm of the parish priest. Though the gilds were for the most part lay organisations, they must needs have been affected by the encouragement to devotion which the parish priest might offer. So many of them provided what would to-day be called an assistant curate's fund, to the great relief of their vicar, that the personal popularity of the latter might well affect the continuance of this. Though no such distinctions existed as to-day obtain between "High" and "Low" Churchmen, human nature was not far different then from what it is now, and those familiar with modern parish activities know how much they may be affected by a change of vicar, even though the newly appointed priest may be of the same "school" as the one he succeeds. Saints, too, might lose their popularity, as is evident in any comparative list of church and gild dedications, and it would be difficult to flog into life a decaying devotion. So the record of the years between 1389 and the final dissolution of the gilds, could it be shewn in full, would probably be one of gilds springing up, flourishing for a time, and then dying; perhaps of revival after a dead interval; of periods of the birth of new gilds in great numbers, as in the reign of Henry VI.; of the secularisation of many in fact, if not in name; of change of character in other respects; and indeed of the vicissitudes in general which in the lapse of years might beset any societies enrolled for good works.

CHAPTER VII

A GILD RULE AND SOME GILD DEVELOPMENTS

THE gild of the Holy Trinity in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, was founded originally in 1374 as a gild of Corpus Christi. Its purpose then was to maintain thirteen candles burning before the Easter Sepulchre for the usual period, and towards the cost of these each brother contributed one penny. During the five years that followed its foundation the fraternity increased so largely in numbers and importance that it was decided to raise the subscription to twelve pence yearly, and, while still maintaining the candles, to support a chaplain to say mass daily for workmen and labourers.

It is to be assumed that the brethren and sisters were drawn from different parishes, for it was found impossible to assemble them for a corporate mass at Easter, "by reason of the solemnity of the feast." It was decided, therefore, that the assembly of the gild should take place on Trinity Sunday, in honour of the Body of Christ and the Holy Trinity.

The gild soon came to be known by the latter dedication only, and the title of its return in 1389 makes no mention of the former, though the story of the gild's foundation is related. This document is very brief, and in addition to what has already been said contains only the record that the brothers and sisters have of their generosity presented the church with a missal and chalice, and the ordinance that if brethren or sisters desire to have a hood of the pattern of the gild they are at full liberty to do so, but must provide the same at their own charges.

In 1389 there was located also in the same church the gild of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian, whose rule is set out below

and gives a sufficient description of its aims. It does not appear in what year this gild was founded, but it was certainly in existence in 1379. In its return it acknowledged the possession of two mass vestments, a chalice and missal, and 13s. 4d. in money, together with a net yearly rental of £4 0s. 4d. from a tenement, which profits were employed towards the maintenance of a light, the repair of vestments, and other works of piety and charity.

About the year 1450 this gild became amalgamated with the Trinity gild under the combined title of their respective dedications, but within five years of the amalgamation the gild thus formed was commonly known simply as the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, though it is curious to note that among the disendowed gilds of 1547 was that of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate.

The chief record of the brotherhood lies in a fine manuscript in the British Museum,¹ the sixth folio of which describes its foundation in the quaint terms that follow. The mistake in the date of its foundation may be noticed.

"Gode bretheren and susteren, it is forto weten and knowen that the bygynnyng of this bretherhode of grete deuocion, euery man paynge a peyny for to fynde xiij. taperes aboue the sepulchre of C'ste at Estre in the chirche of seynte Botulphe wt-oute Alderesgate in Loundon. Aft' that, throughe more gretter deuocion and sterynge unto the worshippe of god it was yturne in to a frat'nite of the holy Trynyte nought with stondynge the fyndynge euery yere the mayntenynge of the forsayde xiij. tapers of the whiche breth'hode thes were ther.

"At the begynnyng of this frat'nyte the which was bygone in the yere of Kynge Edwarde the thredde, one and ffyfty (*sic.*). thes weren the bygyneres th'o'f and maysteres and gou'nours for the firste yer that is to sayen

PHILIPPUS AT VYNE }
JOH'ES BOCKYNGE } Agnes ux' eius.

Folios 6-19 contain the lists of the gild through the reigns of Edward III., Richard II. and Henry IV., and after this occur accounts beginning in 1446. Then follow the wills of

¹ Additional MSS., 1906-10, No. 37664.

those who had left bequests to the gild, an inventory, a rent-roll, and then another series of accounts which do not, however, present points of any exceptional interest. Among the names of note in the roll occur those of the Dean of St. Martin-le-Grand and the Prior of St. Bartholomew.

The first pages of the manuscript, which is entitled *Cartularium Sancti Trinitatis in S. Botulpho extra Aldersgate London*, consist of a pleasantly illuminated Kalendar, one month to a page. In this the names of the benefactors of the gild are set down in ink opposite the date of their death. A characteristic entry is the following for April 1st:

“Obitus d’ni Rob’ti malton Anno d’ni mill’imo CCCC^{mo}
xxvj^{to} qui legau^t huic ffrat’nitat’ xxs. et duas torchas.”

The chief value of the manuscript, however, is that it contains the rule of the brotherhood, with such additions and cancellings as the development of the gild and the experience of the brethren required. It is unfortunate that the first two folios of the rule are missing, so that no comparison can be made as regards the charity extended towards brethren who fell into undeserved poverty, but the eighth section suggests that experience had proved the need of more exact definition of the extent of a loan, and the terms on which a brother might borrow from the gild funds. It is to be noted that the fourteen tapers of the Trinity gild have displaced the seven of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian, and that the distance from which a sick or dead brother was to be fetched is reduced from ten to five miles.

RULE

CHANCERY GILD CERTIFICATE

1389.

1. The furst poynt is this: that whan a brother or a suster schal be receyued, they schul be swore upon a book to the brotherhede for to holde up and meyn-tene the poyntes and the articles that be write after folowynge, eche to his power, sauynge his estat; that euerich brother and suster, in tokenyng of loue and charite and pees, atte resceyuyng schul kisse other of tho that ben ther.

GILD BOOK

CIRCA 1450.

Folios Missing in Gild Book.

2. Also, yif it so bifalle that any of the brotherhede falle in pouerte, or be anyentised thurwy elde, that he may nat helpe hymself or thurwy any other chaunce, thurwy fyr or watir, theues or syknesse, or any other hap, so it be nat on hymselue alone, ne thurwy his owne wrecchednesse, he schal haue in the wyke xiiijd. And yif it so befalle that he be yong ynowgh to werche and he falle in meschef and that it may be take that he ne hath nought of his owene to helpe hymself withe, that the bretheren helpe hym, eche man w^t a porcioun, what his wille be, in wey of charite, sauyng his estaat.

3. Also that eueri man schal paie atte fflurste comynge in to the brotherhede half a mark, and ijd. eueri quarter, to meyntene the light of the brotherhede and the almesse; and yif the man wil haue his wyf a suster, than schal th^t paiement stonde for hem bothe and they to paie in the quarter othere ijd., that is two schillinges in the yeer for hem bothe. And yif a sngle womman come in to the brotherhede she schal paie no lasse than a brother doth.

4. Also that every brother and suster schul be boxom and come, whan they be warned, to a certeyn place whider that they be assigned, four dayes in the yeer, upon the oth th^t they haue maad, and on the peyne of xl.d. to paie to the box; and this schal be peyne for alle manere defautes that the bretheren falle inne. And these ben the four dayes of oure assemblies:— the day of saint fabian and sebastian prinopaliche, heryng a masse of the foresaid seintz and offre in worschepo of hem on the peyne forseid; the seconde day the sonday next after Pask; and the sonday next after missomer day; and the sonday next after micheles day; upon the peyne aforesaid, but he haue a verrey enchesoun wherfore th^t they mowe be excused.

5. Also what tyme that a brother is ded or a suster that they come and offre with hem, whan they be warned to come, upon the foreseid peyne, but yif he haue a verrey enchesoun to be excused.

6. Also yif any brother dye that hath nought of his owene to be beried with, yif it mowe be so ataken, thanne that he be beried of the comune box.

7. Also yif et befalle that any of the bretherhed falle syk x mile eche weyes aboute Londone and deyeth there, that

Folios Missing in Gild Book.

Also yif eny brother dye that hathe nought of his owen where with he may be yburied, yif the mowe be yserued and founden for, thanne it is ordeyned that he schal ben yburied of the comun boxe.

Also yif it byfalle that eny of the bretherhed fflulle sickle fyue myle eche wayes aboute London and dyeth there,

yif the wardeyns of that yeer ben sent after, that they schul wende and fecche that body to Londone, and that alle the bretheren be redy at here warnyng and go agens the body w'oute the citees ende, for to bringe the body in to the place w^t worschephe thider, as he schal be brought upon the foreseid peyne. And that the costages aboute hym be mad good of the box, yif he were nought of power to paie therfore hymselfe; and yif he were of power, lat his executors paie therfore hemselfe; but how so it falle that the costages of the wardeyns be mad good of the box.

8. Also yif caas fallethe that any of the bretheren haue nede to borwe a certein (sum) of seluer that they go to keperes of the box and take what he hath nede of, so that the somme be nat so moche that on may be esed as wel as an other, and that they leye a suffisaunt wed, or elles fynde suffisant borwes of the brotherhede, and that non other borwe non therof but of the same brotherhede.

9. Also that ther schul be founde vij tapres rounde, the wighte of xxj li. wex for to be light on heigne feste dayes, all seuenat alle houres of the day in worschephe of god and his moder marie and saint fabian and sebastian and of alle halwes; and on sondayes and on othere symple fistes two to be light of the tapres at the heigne masse. And yif it so befalla that a symple brother dye that may nat fynde hymself no light, thanne tho vij tapres schul be mad newe and set aboute the body, and the torches also, and whan any brother deith that they haue tho torches redy to bringe hem to chirche yif nede be.

9A.

10. Also yif any of the bretheren be alosed of thefte or a comun contecur or of any other wykked fame wherfore that the compayne is apaired by, that withoute any delay that they be put out of the brotherhede.

11. Also that no brother schal be resceyned but on the dayes of oure assemblies.

that yif the wardaynes of that yere ben ysent after than it is ordeyned that thei schullen wende and fsecche home the body to London, and that alle the bretheren be redy at her warnyng and goo ageyns the body w'outen the citee townes ende, ffor to bryng the body in to the place w^t worschyppe thider, as he schal ben yburyed upon the fiorsayde peyne. And that the costages abouten hym be made gode of the boxe yif he were noght off powere to payen therfore hymselfe; and yiff he were of powere lette his executoures payen therfore hemselfe; but hou so it falle that the costages of the wardeynes be ymaked gode of the boxe.

Also yif cas falleth that eny of the bretheren hau nede forto borowe a certeyn somme of syluer, that is to sayen xxs or ij marke unto a quarter of an yere, uppon suffisant jewelcs of syluer or of golde, than yif it be fonden that he hathe trewely done his duetes to his brotherhode, he schal be yfyesed for the tyme.

Also ther ben ordeyned xiij. tapers of wex and euery taper of six pounde of wex with dysches of pewere accordynge thereto ffor to brenne aboute the sepulcre on estres eue and estres day also longe as the maner es in holy-churche.

Also yif ther be eny bretheren that discouveren the conseyle that we speken amonges us the whiche that turneth to harme or to velany to eny of the bretherhode that he paye the forseyde peyne or elles that he be yput oute of the bretherhode.

Also yif eny of the bretherhode be a losed of eny thefte or be a comun contecur or comun hasardeur or of eny other wycked flame wherfore by that the company may ben apayred or defamed w'oute any delay it is ordeyned that thei ben yputte oute of the bretherhode.

12. Also that four gode and trewe men schul kepe the catel longyng to the compayne and trewely glie up here accounte the day of seint fabian and sebastian byfore alle the bretheren or elles sixe of the wiseste of the same bretheren, and eche yeer the four schal be chaunged but it so falle that they be the more profitable to the compayne.

12A.

13. Also that ther schal non wardeins make non newe statutz ne newe ordinance w^t oure assent of alle the bretherhede, and that it be don on on of the foure dayes aforesaid.

IN THE GILD BOOK ONLY.

14. Also it is ordeyned that the maystres that beth assigned every yere schalle presente uppe in the day of her accountes alle the names of the bretheren and the susteren that comen newe in to the forsayde fraternyte in her yeres and than entre her names in the papyre undyr their names in the same yere. And thus schal alle the maysteres do that bethe chosen yere by yere.

15. Also it is ordeyned that the maystres that beth ffor the yere schal chese none other maystres bot suche as thei wil undirtake fore. And also that thei be of the same parysch of seyt Botulphe byfore sayde.

16. Also it is ordeynede that the wardeynes of the olde yere schal ben suffereyne auditours of the maystrs that ben ychosen by hem for the new yere in the day of her accountes. And thus every yere sewyng, the olde maystres schulle be auditours uppon the newe but yif the bretheren thenken other more profitayle.

17. Also it is ordeyned that the olde maystres schal haven the comun papyr en her ownen warde yseled w^t the newe maystres seeles unto the day of accountes and the same day of accountes the auditours schal aske a juste rekynyng of the tresour in the boxe. And than of al the quarterages for the yere and for alle the entres and for alle byquestes. And than schal the auditours allowe hem dewe expenses for the yere.

18. Also it is ordeyned that in the day of the trintye feeste byforesayde that the olde maystres schal chese newe. And yif it so byfalle, as god forbede, that the newe maystres uyl not sesteyne the charge, than it is ordeyned that who euer se dothe schal paye unto the comun box xs. And yif he be ychosen the nexte yere after he schal it sesteyne uppon peyne of xxs. But yif he haue alway resonable excusacion.¹

19. Also it is ordeyned that in the sunday nexte after alle sowlen day we schal haue an Dirige ouer nyght and on the morowe a solempne masse of Requiem ffor alle our bretheren and sustren qwycke and deede. At whiche messe eche brother and sustre schal offre an halfe penny. And that eche brother and sustre come to that Dirige and that messe uppon peyre of pounde of wexe. But he haue resonable excusacion.¹

Also it is ordeyned that ther schulle be assigned two sufficient men to kepe the comun tresour in the boxe and also to have a clerke for the same bretherode And tho same schal yelde iuste and dewe accountes unto the bretherhede of al the catel resceyued wⁱnne a moneth nexte sewyng after the feste of the trintye yere by yere of all that thei hau resceyued and eche yere the schal ben ychaunged but it so falle that thei ben the more profitable men to thei catel and to the compayne byforsayde.

Also it is ordeyned yif it so byfalle that eny of the brethern falle at debate or distaunce that ther ne gedre none parties for to onen hem. Bot firste take ij of her owen bretheren and yif thei may not accorden hem, chese thei other ij and yif thei iiiij may not accorden hem yit thei four chese ij and yif thei vj may not accorden hem than leten hem ij at debate sechen hem helpe and counsayle in her beste maner for to accorden hem.

Also it is ordeyned that there schal none wardynes make none newe statutes ne newe ordinaunces with oure assent of alle the bretheren.

¹ The last sentence is an addition in a later hand.

20. Also it is ordeyned that in day of the same sunday by foresayde the preste assigned for the same bretherhode schal rede openlyche stondyng in the pulpyte alle the names of the bretheren and the sustren of the forsayde fraternyte that ben on lyne sayinge deuoutelyche for hem p's Deus misereatur nostri. And than for alle the bretheren and the susteren that ben deede this psalme De profundis w^t deuoute orisons sweynge and accordyngne to hem.

21. Also it is ordeyned that the same preste that is ordeyned that schal serve the company of the ffraternyte schal be charged of the wardeynes for the yer for to do dewelyche and trewelyche wynter and somer his masse by fyue of the clocke or els assigne an other for hym yif he be diseysed. Sayinge byfore masse daily a memorie of the Trynytee, and every day sweynge masse as the day asketh. And every moneday masse¹ Requiem ffor alle the Bretheren and sustren that ben deed. Thakyng for his lyfode x marcs and di. that is to sayen euery quarter of the yere fyue nobles xxd. and an dowble hode of the colour of the bretherhode.

22. And also that he be meke and obedient unto the qwere in alle diuine seruices duryng hys terme as custome is in the citee amonge alle other prestes.

23. Alleso it is ordeyned that no mayster schal be ychose w^tinne fyue yere after that he hathe ben maystre of the forsayde bretherhode. But every man kepe his eleccion uppon certeyne peyne as the papyre makth mencion byfore.

24. ²Also it is ordeyned by comun assent of all the bretheren that who so euer wille be brother or sustre of the forseyde Bretherhode schal pay unto the forseyde Bretherhode ijs. for his entre that is to saye xijd. in rewarde unto the maistres for the tyme and the other xijd. unto the comun Boxe florto be theroffe euermore comitable.

It will be clear from a perusal of the two rules and from what has been said of the early history of the Trinity gild that by the middle of the fifteenth century the brotherhood had developed into an organisation never contemplated by its pious founders. The business aspect of the gild of St. Fabian and St. Sebastian, wholly absent from the Trinity foundation, has acquired a prominence at least equal to the religious. The more exact definition of the conditions attached to a loan points to the conclusion that such loans were not uncommon, while the condemnation of the final ordinance noted in the margin of the text suggests that the chief officers of the gild had exploited it to their own profit.

Statutes as to the brotherly relations that ought to obtain between members of the same gild are here somewhat meagrely represented by the arrangement for the settlement of quarrels (12A in Gild Book). Most gilds of the fifteenth century observed the statute of the ancient gild at Abbotsbury, which provided that no brother should "misgreet another . . . in hostile temper," on pain of a fine or forfeiture

¹ The words "masse of" are struck out and "a memory of" inserted above.

² This rule is cancelled by the words "dampnat per assens' frat" in the margin.

of his gildship. That this statute was observed is evident from an entry in the accounts of the gild of the Assumption in St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1520:

"Also of Robrt Graunt for mysbehauing hym in wordis speking . . . the wiche wordys wer spokyn to William Myllys and Edward stokwod then Church wardenys . . . and ther he was jugyd by all the houss to pay a pound of wax and so he payd ther xd."

Moreover many of the gilds forbade the brethren to go to law with each other until all the resources of arbitration had proved unavailing. Here, doubtless, they had in mind the apostolic complaint:

"Is it so that there is not a wise man among you, no not one that shall be able to judge between his brethren, but brother goeth to law with brother and that before the unbelievers?"

The brotherhood of Our Lady's Light at Wymondham ordained:

"yt non of y^e brothers and sistres xall plete wt othyr for no man^r of cawse tyll y^e rewlers and hyr counsell hathe provyd to make an ende and unyte and love betwyne partyes and if yt may not make an ende thei may take y^e comon lawe and ho deny thys xall pay iiiij li. of waxe."

The observance in practice of such a rule may also be illustrated from the accounts of the gild of the Assumption mentioned above, which record that Thomas Wylde was fined 10d. for going to law against two brethren of the fraternity without asking leave of the masters of the gild for the time being. From this and an entry which follows it, it seems that all such cases were brought before the assembled brethren at a quarter-day meeting. "Daysmen" or counsel were appointed both for the gild and for the offending brother, and it is to be presumed that the case was argued for the prosecution and the defence, and a vote of the assembled brethren afterwards taken.

The rule as read in the gild certificate of 1389 represents only a section of the rules of that date, and is by no means

typical of all. The religious character is rather less and the social or benefit aspect distinctly more prominent than in the majority of the existing rules of the period. It is probable that in the larger towns the idea of the benefit society developed far more rapidly than in the country districts, where restricted numbers naturally retarded such development. Few of the gilds in the smaller towns and villages would have been able to accumulate any such stock of money as would permit of the borrowing contemplated in the eighth section of the rule under review. For this and other reasons a distinction in character between the majority of the gilds in the larger towns and those in less populated districts gradually became more marked. Increased numbers, and consequently increasing wealth, while providing the means for more elaborate religious provisions and ceremonies, did not necessarily imply increased devotion in the best sense on the part of the gild members. In fact, it is probable that as a gild grew in numbers it lost in spirituality. The simplicity of the earlier associations gradually disappeared, and men began to seek membership as conferring some sort of social status and to ask what advantages a gild had to offer them rather than what they could afford to give in furtherance of its objects. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the gilds did their utmost to offer inducements in order to increase their membership. Apart from pecuniary benefits which might accrue in case of misfortune and the spiritual advantages to be derived from masses and prayers, some of the gilds were able to offer the special attraction of a papal indulgence. One of the earliest and certainly the most celebrated of all such grants was the famous "Pardon of Walsoken." Of the fraternities at Walsoken comparatively little record remains. The gild of the Holy Cross made its return in 1389, but of the five other fraternities in the town only that of the Holy Trinity has left any notable memorial.¹ This gild possessed a chapel and college at some distance from the parish church, at a place called the Stathe-dyke, and must have had a somewhat unusual constitution, for

¹ Proc. Soc. Ant., 1873.

Also of Robert Grabante for my beginning hym
word spekynge at a gylt day kept in the chamber
chamber and sent Thomas Day in driftmestinge
pence of all the masters and brethren ther
byng master Walter Gardener Johs Byngt
and Johs ffrd Wardenys the forth wordys
bees spokyn to Willm Myllys & Edward stok
both thei chyfthe Wardens of sent masters
and ther he was payyd by all the goss to
pay a pound of wad and so ge payd ther —

Also of Thomas Wyld for that he put maner
philip Lentall both brether of the fraternite
and for that he apid not leoun of the masters
for the tyme byngt according to the constytucyon
and ordynance therof mde he was by all the
goss payyd to pay a pound of wad and thys was.
Done at a gylt day kept in the chamber
at Chyfthe roomy or of kyng comp the bry
dayt mde for lady Johs payld and for wyld
Johs Banster and ther payd.

Also the sume day Willm bynd penitentiale
payyd to pay in the wad for that he contrary
the constytucyon put maner in brether
of the same fraternite ther many Robert gard
Johs Sampson and Johs Bayfor. Dayt
mde for lady Johs latynas and for
berpol Johs penitent withit not yet payd

paym/xxd

its chaplain was also the warden of the gild. It does not appear for what purpose the gild was founded or by what special influence the Pardon was obtained, but sometime during his pontificate Urban VI. (1378-89) endowed it with the privilege of granting plenary remission of all sin to a brother or sister *in extremis*. Moreover the brothers and sisters of the fraternity obtained release yearly of a seventh part of the penance enjoined on them, three years and a hundred days of pardon, participation in all the masses and prayers of the universal Church, and exemption from all interdicts which might be laid upon the realm.

This "pardon" was confirmed by several of Urban's successors in the papacy right on to Sixtus IV. (1471-84), and in consequence the gild enjoyed a popularity extending far beyond its own district and was the recipient of many a benefaction.

Reference has already been made¹ to the privileges granted to the gild of Our Lady in St. Botolph's at Boston. These were first obtained from Nicholas V. (1455-58), and were confirmed by subsequent Popes, the last confirmation being granted by Clement VII. in 1526, at the request of King Henry VIII. The townsmen of Boston found the indulgence of considerable advantage to their "decayed port," and the story is related how Thomas Cromwell managed to obtain its confirmation by Pope Julius II. in 1510 by providing him with some "fine dishes of gelly and jolly junkets" as he came home from hunting at Rome.

That papal indulgences granted to the gilds were not uncommon is evident from a document printed on parchment, sometime in the possession of Westminster Abbey but now lost, which is headed: "Dyverse pardons granted to one Pyckeryng by certain fraternities by authoritye from the Popes about the yeres of o^r Lorde 1500 and therabouts. . . ."

Beside the indulgences from the Pope himself many of the bishops granted pardons to the fraternities. Three cardinals, of whom Wolsey and Campeggio were two, granted a somewhat elaborate pardon to the gild of St. Cornelius in St.

¹ See p. 16.

Margaret's, Westminster, for all that “*vicet, gyue or sende to it.*” Four hundred days of pardon were obtainable on the feast of the patron saint, and a lesser number on fourteen other Sundays and festivals in the course of the year. To these grants Archbishop Warham of Canterbury added forty days, and a like number of days was granted by nine other bishops of English and Welsh sees. The total number of days of pardon thus obtainable amounted in all to 2,740.

It will be obvious that gilds possessing such advantages as these were not in danger of decay from lack of membership or of money to further their various objects, but it will be equally obvious that the whole system must have provided one more excuse for the final plundering of the gilds in the middle of the sixteenth century.

Apart from what has been said, the religious gilds of the fifteenth century did not differ in kind from those of earlier periods, and many a gild was founded with no more ambitious objects than those which moved preceding generations. An increasing demand for education stimulated the formation of gilds whose chaplain could supply that need, though in many cases his duties were indifferently performed. In one or two instances a religious gild attained to such proportions as practically to be identical with the main body of the parishioners. If other gilds of lesser dimensions existed in the same church, their brethren frequently were members of the larger gild as well, and the latter was frequently called the Great Gild. The meetings of the gilds were held for the most part in gildhalls or churchrooms, built generally in the neighbourhood of the church. In most places these halls were used by all the gilds in common, but in a few instances, as at Oxburgh, more than one such hall existed. At Hadleigh in Suffolk the gildhall was the meeting-place of five gilds, of which two at least were probably of a purely religious character.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME LATER GILDS

A CATHEDRAL GILD

ONE of the most famous of the purely religious gilds of London was that dedicated to the Holy Name of Jesus, which was located in the “crowdes” or crypt of St. Paul’s Cathedral, and was commonly known as the Jesus Gild. It came legally into existence at the beginning of the year 1459, when it received a charter from Henry VI., who thereafter was commemorated as its founder. The Dean of the Cathedral was *ex officio* rector of the gild, and was assisted by two wardens, who were laymen and prominent citizens of London. There was in addition a committee of twelve assistants. Membership of the gild was open to both men and women.

The fixed income of the gild was small, being 40s. from the rent of two houses and some land at Uxbridge and 20s. from the Waxchandlers for some unnamed property. Fortunately, however, it was not dependent on this. It possessed the valuable privilege of begging support from charitable persons throughout the whole of England and Wales. For this purpose the country was divided up into districts, and the collections were farmed out to proctors, as in the case of the gild of Our Lady of Rounceyval.¹ In 1506 the gild leased “all the devocions of England” to one “Maister Smyth, Doctor of Phesyk,” for the sum of £28. It is probable that Master Smyth had by far the best of the bargain, for at the conclusion of his lease of seven years the gild decided that such leases in future should be for one year only. Moreover in 1514-5 the income swelled to £144 6s. 8d. In the year 1533-4 the income was some £385, and in the year following more than

¹ See p. 96.

£406. It is evident that the country was well canvassed for subscriptions, for the records shew that the proctors journeyed from Exeter to the Isle of Man and through the Welsh dioceses of St. David's, St. Asaph, and Bangor. Shortly before its dissolution it obtained a fresh license from Henry VIII. to make these collections, and urged as a plea for the royal favour that the said gild had no privileges granted by the Bishop of Rome or his predecessors. The plea was a subtle one, for by this time Henry had proclaimed himself supreme head of the Church of England, and desired to think himself the fount of such pardons and privileges as the Popes had hitherto granted.

The gild observed especially the Feasts of the Transfiguration and of the Holy Name (August 6 and 7). Prior to these six waits with instruments of music went throughout the city to proclaim the feasts, presumably in the same manner as that used by the bedell of other gilds. In addition to this, on the vigil of the latter feast a bonfire was kindled on the north side of the Cathedral near the door of the crypt. Each wait carried a banner, on which the sacred monogram was blazoned, and was garbed in a special livery, while the wardens wore gowns of cloth "with two signes or conisaunces sownyng (answering to) the Name of Jesu."

At the first evensong, matins and mass, of both feasts twelve petty canons, eight chantry priests, six vicars, and ten choristers, attended to sing the services, and after the last evensong of the second feast a solemn *Placebo* and *Dirige* for all the brothers and sisters departed. On the morrow a solemn requiem mass was sung by one of the petty canons. The mass on the Feast of the Holy Name was to be sung by the dean, or in his absence by the subdean; failing both the mass was to be sung by one of the cardinals¹ clad in a grey amice. For these services the petty canons were to divide 20s. between them, the chantry priests 8s., and the vicars 9s., while any "high" canon, petty canon, chantry priest, vicar or chorister, taking part in the processions received in addition the sum of 4d.

¹ *Cardinales chori.*

The crypt was decorated with boughs and herbs for the two festivals, and each brother and sister wore a gold and silver badge. On each festival ten shillings was spent in bread and ale, which was distributed amongst the brothers and sisters in the crypt, probably at the conclusion of the high mass.

Beside the special devotions of the two feasts a Jesus mass was solemnly sung every Friday, at which the names of dead brethren were recited, and a special memorial made for them. After this mass a mass of requiem was immediately sung by one of the petty canons in his habit. In addition three *Salves* were sung daily in the crypt after compline before the images of Our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Sebastian.

The gild banquet was held on the Feast of the Holy Name at the Saddlers' Hall, which was hired for the day for 4s. 4d. Here the gild officers had a breakfast and subsequently the gild brethren a dinner. The election of a new warden was also considered an occasion for a mild festivity, and varying sums were expended in "necessary potacions."

A LONDON PARISH GILD.

The gild of St. Peter in the church of St. Peter-on-Cornhill provides a good instance of the many religious gilds formed originally by members of the same craft and their friends. In April, 1406, Henry IV. "at the prayer of his consort Joan" granted a license to William Ashton, parson of the said church, Richard Ryebrede, John Bury, and Peter Masone, to found a fraternity in honour of God and St. Peter, with the usual powers of acquiring and holding property, of suing and being sued.

A meeting was held to devise a rule for the fraternity. William Brampton and William Askham, aldermen and fishmongers, together with other brothers and sisters, associated themselves with the original grantees and the fraternity was duly *begun, made, founded and established*.

The rule drawn up consisted of twenty-three statutes,

and is of particular interest in that its framers did not follow the customary practice and adopt as a model the existing rule of some other gild. At the conclusion of their task they appended the following quaint note: "*These aforesaide ordinaunces shall we amende and in to Latyn and other better forme translate whenne we have leisar ther to ; and, thus for us to do, we at thys tyme ordeyne and reserve us power by the virtue and autorite of our aforesaide liege lordys chartre.*" The translation into Latin was made in due course three months later, and at the same time the rule was amplified and expanded into thirty-seven statutes, some of considerable length, occupying nineteen folios octavo.

The first provision in the English version was for the maintenance of an honest and able priest *devoutely syngyng in the same chirche of Seint Petre for the bretherne and the susterne of the same fraternite quyke and deed and for alle Christen.* His duties are set down with considerable exactness. He was to say mass daily with a special orison, *Deus qui caritatis,* or else a special memorial for the living and the dead. These prayers, however, might be omitted on high and solemn festivals. On ordinary week-days he was to say *Placebo* and *Dirige* in the afternoon with nine lections; on Monday and Friday a mass of requiem, and on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, the penitential psalms and the litany, with prayers for the lives and souls aforesaid, unless the psalms and litany were already provided for in the services of the day.

The priest was to be cunning in reading and singing and of *covenable understanding and honest of conversacioun.* As in other gild rules, he was required to be present at all sung services in the church, unless he had leave from the parson of the church to be absent. Such absence was not to be for more than forty days in the year, *no tymes at ones ne at diverse tymes,* and there is the unique provision that he must spend his absent days in honest company and in a place well-known and approved of by his superior. A fine of a penny a day was the penalty of absence above the number of days specified. Should he exceed twenty days of such absence, the chantry was to be void without more ado.

The parson of the church had powers not commonly found in other gild rules. Together with the wardens he was to elect the gild priest, and if the wardens could not agree then the parson's side was to prevail, unless in after-days someone should endow the chantry or otherwise provide for the priest's maintenance.

The eighth section of the rule implies the existence of the gild prior to the grant in mortmain, for it provides that the "morowe" priest shall *have in mynde and pray specialy, like als he hathe do to fore this tyme, in his masse* for every brother and sister, living or dead.

A provision not very common among the known gild rules is contained in the section following, which requires that every brother and sister should leave in his will some alms to the fraternity until the time that the chantry of two priests was sufficiently endowed. Such bequests were, of course, common enough, but it does not appear that many other fraternities required them to be of obligation, or that there was any means of enforcing the requirement save possibly the threat of removal of the name of the dead from the gild roll.

Every member of the gild was required to possess the gild livery, which, it would seem, was supplied by the wardens, since provision was made for payment for it at the annual feast. The nature of the livery was evidently undetermined at the time of making the rule, or else was variable, since it is described as *hoole clothyng or elles hodyng atte ordinaunce of the wardeyns for the tyme beyng*. The livery was to last two years, and was not to be given away to an apprentice or to any man or woman not of the fraternity. It must be worn by all at the solemn mass on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, on the following Saturday at *Dirige* and *Placebo*, and on Sunday at the solemn mass of requiem. Attendance on these three occasions at the church of St. Peter was obligatory on all. On the Sunday was held the annual feast, the cost of which for a man was twelve pence and for his wife eight pence, with a similar charge for guests. An assembly might be substituted for the feast if it should seem

good. At this feast or assembly the wardens were chosen for the ensuing year, of whom half must be fishmongers and the other half parishioners of St. Peter's Church. The annual accounts were to be made up within the ensuing two months, and at the audit the old wardens were required to account for at least six shillings and eightpence for each new member of the gild, which implies a minimum entrance fee of that amount, but presumably leaves a larger sum optional, the probable reason for this being that the fraternity had not as yet a sufficient sum for the endowment of the double chantry.

Besides the feast-day three other quarterly gatherings were held, at which each member must attend on penalty of half a pound of wax. At these meetings the quarterage or quarterly subscription was payable, otherwise their purpose was *to entercomune and to make mocioun, ordinance and declaracioun togedir en encresyng in worshippe* of the fraternity. The same fine was levied for absence from the offices for a dead brother or sister. Prior to such offices the bedell was ordered to give warning of them to all members, and the friends of the dead were to pay him twelve pence for his trouble.

As with some other gilds of the fifteenth century, the brethren and sisters might borrow money from the gild treasury. Here the period of the loan was set at one to three months and the sum forty shillings or four or five marks. The borrower had to deposit a security of a kind that would not be impaired by keeping and which would at all times yield again the sum lent at the least.

If the gild treasury was able to bear it alms might be given to a member falling into difficulties, but such help was not to be given to anyone who had not been a member for seven years at least or who had been remiss either in the payment of his quarterages or in fulfilling his duty of attendance on all occasions required by the rule. Moreover, the strictest investigation was made before help was granted. The petitioner first of all was to make known his need to the wardens, and was then to be ordered to be present at the

next quarterly meeting. Meanwhile the wardens were to make careful inquiry into the petitioner's story. Report was to be made to the meeting and the petitioner then summoned to appear, in order that the whole company might see and know him and afterwards testify if they had anything against his former manner of life.

The usual provisions were made for expelling from the fraternity anyone of evil life or remiss in paying subscriptions, and also for the reconciliation of quarrels and dissensions among the brethren, without resort to the law-courts; but there is the very unusual and possibly unique provision that if the reconciliation were found impossible and recourse to law unavoidable, then the wardens and brethren who had been appointed to reconcile the contending parties were to go to court and bear witness against the person they considered to be in the wrong.

The Latin version of the rule contains the Bidding Prayer, to be said in English at the annual requiem. The brethren were to pray for the Roman Church, the Pope, for all Archbishops and Bishops, for the Holy Land, and for the peace of the universal Church, for the King and Queen and the Royal Family, for the nobility, for the Mayor and Aldermen of London, for the commonalty, and especially the brothers and sisters of the fraternity, together with its founders and benefactors and those who should carry it on in future time. After the Bidding Prayer had been said from the *pulpitum*, the brethren were to turn to the east and say *Pater Deus misereatur nostri*, with the prayers and orisons customary for the living. Turning to the people, the priest was then to invite their prayers for the souls of the dead brethren and sisters, especially of the founders and benefactors, after which they were again to turn to the east and say the psalm *De profundis*, with prayers and orisons customary for the dead.

Regulations for the chaplains were made with even greater precision than in the English rule. The stipend of each was to be ten marks a year in four quarterly payments. After the decease of a certain Alice Lyle they were to occupy the house which the said Alice then had for the term of her

natural life, but meanwhile they must live in or close to the parish. If either of the chaplains became so infirm, by reason of old age or sickness not caused by his own ill life, that he was unable to carry out his duties, he was to go on receiving his stipend in full for the rest of his life, a generous provision not specified in other gild rules.

The quarterly subscription was fixed at threepence, in addition to the minimum entrance fee of six shillings and eightpence. Those desirous of admission were to be of good name and fame and in good circumstances, while a committee consisting of the wardens and six or seven of the more discreet and learned brethren had the power to forbid the election.

The treasury box and other valuables belonging to the gild were to be deposited in the church. The keys were always to remain within the parish of St. Peter, one in the hands of the rector, one in the hands of those wardens who were parishioners, and the remaining keys in the custody of two or three of the more discreet brethren.

At the end of the rule it is stated that its statutes were distinctly read out in the mother tongue to all the brothers and sisters of the gild, as well fishmongers as others, receiving their unanimous assent.

It is unfortunate that so few rules of the religious fraternities of London made after the returns of 1389 have survived, since effective comparison of the rule under review cannot now be made. In some respects it throws more light upon the character of a religious fraternity of the period than any other known rule, while in the incidental details it contains it stands unrivalled.

A WESTMINSTER GILD.

The earliest mention of the gild of the Assumption in St. Margaret's, Westminster, appears to be in the Cellarer's Roll of Westminster Abbey for the year 1431. Unfortunately the Cellarers' Rolls prior to this date shew a large gap, but it is practically certain that the gild was founded very little earlier than this date. The gild comes to be mentioned in this and in subsequent rolls because of the payment to the

Cellarer's office of a ground rent of 6s. a year for three tenements in Our Lady Alley in King Street, which were used for various purposes by the gild. The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Margaret's contain a reference to a Mastre Willys or Willy as one of the founders of the gild. This man died between the years 1477 and 1487, so that it is fair to assume that the foundation of the gild took place about the year 1431, when it is first mentioned in the Abbey Roll.

With the name Willys can be associated from internal evidence the names of David Selly, citizen and vintner; John Stopyndon, Master of the Rolls in 1430; William Normanton; Thomas Cosyn; John Nyk and his wife; William Bliklyng; and Richard Saxilby who was curate of the Church. The claim of the last-named rests, however, upon less satisfactory evidence than that of the others.

There is no set of rules extant to shew the purpose of the gild, but it seems to have been of a purely religious character, and large in numbers, for the earliest set of accounts records the names of 456 members whose subscriptions were then due. Among these names are to be noticed those of four of the Abbey monks; the Bishops of Hereford and St. Asaph; the Duchess of Bedford; the prior of Hurley, formerly a monk of the Abbey; the vicars of St. Martin, Battersea, and Datchet; and the anchoress of St. Margaret's, together with men of every conceivable trade. The total amount thus due was no less than £132 2s. 9d., which in present value would be more than £1,000. Thus the importance of the gild will be obvious. The fee payable on admission to the gild was 6s. 8d., but it is not possible to determine the amount of the quarterly subscription, though this would probably not exceed 3d., to judge by the custom of many other gilds with a similar entrance fee.

By 1487 the gild held property in Tothill Street, Long Ditch or Prince's Street, King Street, the Strand, Kensington, the Wool Staple, the parish of St. Mary Aldermarsh in London, and also in the outskirts of Westminster. Caxton was almost certainly a member, and his famous assistant and successor, Wynkyn de Worde, is mentioned as joining.

The gild supported three almsmen or almswomen, endowing each with a house, appropriately enough in "Our Lady Alley," and a quarterly payment of 6s. 8d. On the death of any of these their small property was sold for the benefit of the gild.

In the same alley dwelt the bedell of the gild, also rent free. His yearly salary was 13s. 4d., and his duties were varied. He had to attend all the requiem masses, held for dead founders and benefactors; and received a fee of 2d. for each. He was entrusted with the supervision of the repairs to the various houses which belonged to the gild, the collection of rents from their tenants, and with the pursuit of those tenants if they left with their rent unpaid! He was provided with a gown at the expense of the gild. It is to be supposed that he was engaged in some other occupation as well, for he could scarcely live upon the salary that he received.

The chief officers performed duties that were by no means light for no regular salary whatever, though they received an honorarium of 10s. per year between them for their diligence in the discharge of their duties and a fee of 5d. each for their compulsory attendance at the obits or requiems kept for the dead. They were also entertained at breakfast on their retirement from office.

An obit cost from six to eight or more shillings, the variation being due to the number of priests and clerks employed to sing the music. These might be any number from six to twelve and received 4d. each. Besides the bedell's fee already mentioned, it was customary to pay 8d. for the tolling of the bells and to distribute 3s. 4d. amongst the poor. The only other expense was that of a penny each to four torch-holders, who were generally both poor and aged.

The religious character of the gild is emphasised by the fact that it was quite common for a man to seek to be admitted to membership after his death should have taken place. The fee for the reception of the dead into membership was usually 20s., and this fee was mostly provided for by the deceased in his will. In this way were admitted among others a dean of St. Stephen's, Dr. Sharp; John Tesedale;

chaplain to the Queen; and Edmund Holt, one of Wolsey's servants.

The feasts observed with special devotions were, as we should expect, the great feasts of the Virgin Mary and also the Feast of Corpus Christi; and expenditure on wax for candles, tapers and torches, formed no small item in the gild balance sheet.

Once in three years the gild held a banquet, of a very different character to the quarterly gatherings, when bread, cheese and ale, formed the only fare provided. The arrangements for this were of the most elaborate description, and necessitated the master and wardens dining together two or three times beforehand for the necessary discussion of details. The feast was held in the White Hall at Cardinal Wolsey's house, York Place. Let us look at the arrangements and preparations for one of these feasts. There is much going to and fro to London by boat for the ordering of this and that; the goldsmith has to provide "brooches" or badges from a stamp in his possession for the waiters to wear. In this case they number 108. The master, the wardens, the priests and bedell of the gild, are all provided with special hoods of office, that of the bedell costing 3s. 6d., one shilling less than that of the others. Pewter vessels and earthenware vessels have to be hired, and there will be a very large item for breakage of the latter to be paid after the feast is over. Perhaps this is not surprising, for a pipe of red wine and a hogshead of claret have been provided, not to speak of ten or twelve barrels of a "good ale." John Duff and his company of minstrels have been hired, and there is also a play for further diversion. The cooking will be of the best, for the King's cook is a member of the gild. The more wealthy members have sent presents of fat bucks, and by ancient custom their servants who brought them are liberally tipped. The feast starts with a fish course, and for this forty-three pikes have been bought for 14d. each, besides five salmon, nine turbots, a bass and some sea prawns, roach, plaice, cod, herrings and oysters.

The poultorer's account includes thirty-seven swans at

3s. 4d. a piece, seventeen dozen conies (2d. each), twenty-one dozen pigeons at 8d. a dozen, three dozen quails, six geese, and half a dozen rabbits. Five hundred eggs at 8d. a hundred complete his bill.

The butcher charges only 2s. each for ten sheep, and 3s. 4d. for a calf. Other items are ten legs of mutton at 2d. each, a few odd shoulders of veal, some pieces of beef, and a vast deal of suet.

The last items of the feast are the sweets, which entail quite a large outlay on spices. The total cost of the feast is just short of £40. It is noticeable that there is no outlay on vegetables, which did not come into ordinary use until the close of the reign of Henry VIII.

SOME OTHER GILDS.

The fraternity of Mariners of Bristol was a religious gild founded in 1445 chiefly for the maintenance in the hospital of St. Bartholomew of a priest and twelve poor sailors who were required to pray for the King, the Mayor and Commons of Bristol, and for all merchants and mariners passing and labouring on the sea, whether out or at home. The expenses were met by the levy of port dues of fourpence per ton on all cargoes arriving in the port. Before becoming eligible for maintenance in the hospital the candidate must have been a member of the gild for seven years. On admission to the hospital he surrendered all his personal property for the use of the gild, with the exception of his bedding and clothes. If he had been a master mariner for seven years he received a pension of 12d. per week for his "finding," but if not a master the sum was 8d.

Another such fraternity was the Shipmen's Gild at Hull. It was founded as a gild of the Holy Trinity in 1369, but its history as known belongs rather to the fifteenth century and afterwards, for it received a royal charter in 1443. It is of special interest as it still survives, though in altered form, to the present day, and is still concerned with the prosperity of the maritime population.¹

¹ Rev. J. M. Lambert, *2,000 Years of English Gild Life*.

Vestis of the y^e gild **¶** So the vestis late manufac^tred to be allleded for expens^e of the gild feaste
of the said brotherhood kept & holden at the archbis^hop^s place
in this y^e yere of the Auctorite

LIst paid for a pyp of red^e dyne & for a hessched of claret dyne — iij d^d
Also for vire of broches bought of Anthony Denhill at v. by the vire — v. d^d
Also for vire of plate lyversors bought of Harry Bowley at v. by the vire — v. d^d
Also paid to John Draper for a vire of a yarde of red^e Orgynysen velvet } m^m f^f d^d
to psonne the Neth Gaslande —
Also for a yire of a yarde & v. of pledes Savenett for lyving of y^e Gaslande — v. d^d
Also for Maitrys of the same — Gaslande — v. d^d
Also paid to Agnes Capster for v. dozen of lyversors of lylles for the ynglynd^e
fynchonys at v. by the dozen —
Also paid for v. dozen of white Cappes — v. d^d f^f m^m
Also paid for portage & bateys of the fynglynd^e — m^m f^f
Also paid for balyng of mole on the mynday — v. d^d
Also paid on the mynday for bateys fett at Gasle — v. d^d
Also paid to the playys for A play — v. d^d
Also paid to John Duff & his ffyldes Myngystelle — v. d^d f^f
Also paid to John Draper for my ffyldes of Brussell cloth for portarmys } m^m f^f
& v. offe for the dossing doore pnes the alle y^e — v. d^d
Also for v. yerdys of Orgynysen — v. d^d
Also in v. yerdys & a yire yde dyne bought for ych^e at v. by the galore — m^m f^f
Also for v. galore of white dyne prie the galore — v. d^d
Also paid for cappe of the pypes & hessched of dyne from v. by the galore
london to be sent to the archbis^hop^s place — v. d^d

16000

ACCOUNTS OF A GILD FEAST
Gild MSS., The Assumption, St. Margaret's Westminster

A gild whose activities likewise continue, though it has long been dissolved itself, was founded probably early in the thirteenth century as a fraternity of the Holy Ghost at Basingstoke. There was certainly a chapel of the Holy Ghost in 1244, and reference to a chaplain and wardens occurs in a lease of 1464; but the gild was founded legally in 1524, on the petition of Lord Sandys, who built a new chapel on the site of the older one. From the first the gild's activities, apart from the religious side, were probably educational in aim, its possessions being used for the support of the Holy Ghost School.¹ The gild was, of course, dissolved with others, but was revived by Philip and Mary at the petition of the inhabitants. During the civil war of the seventeenth century its buildings became ruinous and its estates were diverted, but the latter were restored through the agency of the Bishop in 1670, and are still used for the support of the Queen's School, by which name the Holy Ghost School came to be known. The chapel, whose ruins still stand, was furnished with stained glass said to vie with that at Fairford, and evidently contained some kind of representation of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity if a ribald rhyme contained in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* may be taken as evidence:

To the good holy ghoste
 That painted poste
 Abyding at Basingstoke,
 Which doth as much good
 As a god made of wood,
 And yet he beareth a great stroke.

It is interesting to observe that the master of the Queen's School is still cited to visitations as chaplain of the Holy Ghost Chapel.²

A fraternity at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, deserves notice for more than its curious title. The brotherhood of the Schaft, with its two wardens, finds its first mention in the churchwarden's accounts³ for the year 1486, and appears

¹ Accounts of the Wardens of the Fraternity of the Holy Ghost.

² Baigent and Millard, *History of Basingstoke*.

³ J. M. Cowper, *Accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury*.

with its accounts up to the year 1539. Exactly what the Schaft was is not easy to determine. At first sight it would appear to be the equivalent of the German suffix as in *gesellschaft*, but though this is probably the interpretation, there are some difficulties in its acceptance, for money is spent on the mending of the *schaft*, and the gift of a girdle to carry it was made in 1511, which was to be continued from warden to warden. It is possible that the name of the gild became transferred to some badge of office worn by the warden or, as Mr. Cowper suggested, to the box in which the gild funds were carried. The brotherhood differs in many respects from others. It does not appear to have had any special devotions of its own such as belonged to other fraternities in the same church whose chief activities were the provision of lights, but rather to have been an association for the management of parochial business, for it had control of the parish cows and sheep, received parochial rents and collections, and made many necessary payments on behalf of the parish. If this be an accurate description of the society, the brotherhood must be *sui generis*, for no others like it present themselves at such a date.

The rule of the gild of All Saints at Morton in Essex¹, which dates from 1473, provides the text of a common form of gild prayer, which is given as it appears, apart from abbreviations:

“ Deus qui caritatis dona per graciam Sancti Spiritus fundis da famulis et famulabus tuis fratribus et sororibus nostris pro quibus tuam deprecamur clemenciam salutem mentis et corporis ut tota virtute diligent et que tibi placita fuerint tota dilectione perficiant per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum filium tuum.”

Its statutes prescribe that its principal day shall be the Sunday after All Saints, and contains the curious provision that “whoso cumyth noth on the Sondaye to the messe in hys beste clothynge in the worshippe of God and all that seyntys he schall pay a pownde wax.” At the feast after the high mass the allowance of ale was graduated to the status

¹ Gough, *History and Antiquities of Pleshy*.

of the officers. The alderman had a gallon for himself and his guests, each master a *potell*, or two quarts, the *clarke a potell*," and the dean a quart. The clerk and the dean received a penny each from every new member, the entrance fee to the gild being 2s. 6d. The gild possessed five priests, of whom the vicar was one. At the funeral of a dead *brother* all five attended to sing dirge and mass, but at that of a dead *sister* only two need attend to sing or say the dirge, no mention being made of the mass. It should be remarked, however, that the word *dirge* was often used as including both *Dirige* and mass.

A record now in the custody of the Corporation of Bodmin shews that in 1470 almost the whole population was included in one or other of the gilds of the town. When the church, which is the largest in the West of England, was rebuilt in the years 1469-71 by far the most generous contributors were the different fraternities, of which there were more than forty. When, in 1912, during the vicariate of the Rev. H. H. King, a reredos was erected the patron saints of these gilds were represented in sixteen panels surrounding the high altar in recognition of the succour afforded by the gilds in a time of need.

The gild of St. George in Chichester Cathedral, founded sometime before 1446, received a bequest from Bishop Sherborne to purchase wine for distribution at the Cross on St. George's day after mass in St. George's Chapel. At the conclusion of the drinking the bedell dismissed the fraternity with the words, "All is over, pray for Lord Robert's soul."

CHAPTER IX

A GILD HOSPITAL

OUR LADY OF RONCESVALLES

THE fraternity of “our blesyd lady of Rounsydevall,” as the Accounts for 1520-22 call it, came into existence in 1385, though it had no legal existence until ninety years later. Its foundation was in honour of the Holy Trinity, the glorious Virgin, and All Saints, and was designed chiefly to celebrate the Feast of the Nativity in the chapel of *Rounsyual apud Charryng*. It was in no spirit of insolence, it asserted, nor for any seditious purpose, but simply with a devotional object, that the fraternity was formed. It provided in the early days a candle to burn at the daily mass, and had its gild mass on the Feast of the Nativity.

The hospital over which the fraternity was later on destined to preside was founded in the early part of the reign of Henry III. as a cell or priory of the mother-house at Roncesvalles in Navarre, a conventional hospital which had acquired considerable renown for its charity and hospitality to the many travellers and pilgrims who passed it on the road between France and Spain.

In 1229 Henry III. granted letters of protection to certain of the community who had come to England to seek support for their far-off House. William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, son of the elder William who had been the King's protector during his minority, took the brethren under his patronage and endowed them with certain houses at Charing, together with rents and land in other parts of England and Wales. Hard by where Charing Cross was afterwards to stand, on a site now occupied by the great buildings of Northumberland

Avenue, the brethren erected a chapel and "almous howse" or hospital, 80 feet long by 23 feet broad. South-west of the chapel was a churchyard of some extent, which ran by the riverside and in which stood a building known as "Our Lady's great chamber." The brethren also possessed and maintained "Our Lady's wharf" on the river bank.

Standing as it did on the highway between London and Westminster and possessing widely distributed properties, it is not surprising that the priory attained considerable celebrity, so much so that writers as far removed in date from each other as Chaucer¹ and the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*² alike take one of its inmates as a character and alike satirise the traditional weakness of religious houses.

Apart from some difficulties in the defence of its title to certain lands and a small scandal of no particular importance, the community pursued its charitable course until the year 1348, when it seems probable that the Black Death carried off its members, for from that time the title prior gives place to warden and the clergy of the community are English. The mother-house, however, successfully asserted its claim to the hospital in 1383, and in 1389 Garcias, a canon of Roncesvalles, became warden, only to be succeeded in the following year by an Englishman. By 1415 the alien priories had been suppressed and from then until 1475 the wardenship was granted as the benefice of a free chapel, and was evidently regarded as a piece of Court preferment. For instance, in 1433 one of the King's chaplains, Roger Westwode, was confirmed by Royal license as master of the chapel or hospital, and he and his successors were empowered "to receive all bulls and other letters of indulgences, pardons and other things for the profit and advantage of the chapel or hospital from the prior and convent of Roncidevall in Navarre . . . and to give to the said prior and convent . . . victuals and other necessaries for . . . the poor in the said priory in Navarre to the value of ten marks yearly . . . notwithstanding that the priory is out of the King's allegiance."³

¹ Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

² The *Lady Rokesay*.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 11 Henry VI., pt. i.

In 1475, by Royal Letters Patent,¹ was founded a "fraternity or perpetual gild of a master and two wardens and the brethren and sisters who may wish to be of the same in the chapel of St. Mary Rounsidevall by Charing Cross." The officers of the gild were to be elected yearly at the Feast of the Assumption, and power was granted to acquire lands and other possessions and of pleading and being impleaded. License also was given for the foundation of a perpetual chantry of one chaplain to celebrate daily at the high altar for the good estate of the King and his consort Elizabeth and his first-born son Edward, and for the brethren and sisters of the gild and for their souls after death.

Three years later the gild received a grant in mortmain² in the usual form, with provision, however, for the maintenance of three chaplains and the payment of six marks yearly to Elizabeth Berde, widow, together with "a fair house for her by the said chapel or hospital."

Beyond some legal difficulties little is known of the fraternity until 1320. It must be supposed that the hospital served a useful purpose, for the grant just quoted speaks of "the poor people flocking there." Two sets of biennial Accounts³ from Michaelmas, 1520, to Michaelmas, 1524, shew in what kind of activities the fraternity was employed, while a third set, 1538-40, gives a picture of it shortly before its dissolution.

It is to be noted that the last set of Accounts includes a payment of 13d. to a priest and clerk "for a lowe masse and dirge for the Erle of pembroke and the Duke of bedforde founders." The former is doubtless the younger William Marshall of whom mention has already been made, and by whose generosity the hospital had long profited. The Duke-dom of Bedford was not created until 1414, and its rather complex history during the fifteenth century precludes the identification of the second "founder" with any other than the first Duke, John, the third son of Henry IV., who as regent of France must always be remembered for his share

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 15 Edward IV., pt. ii.

² *Ibid.*, 18 Edward IV., pt. ii. ³ Gild MSS., St. Margaret's Church.

His is thacounte of Guy Gascon Maister

of the straerme and Guyde of the Assumption of one blessed lady
Sainted Mary the Virgin of Rounydewall by Chaynge Crosse in
the Countre of Midy Henry Sonayne and Thomas Mayne
Warden of the same Accomplynge from the Castle of Saynle
Mychaell Harshangell in the xxvth yere of the regne of o Sonayne
Lorde kyng Henry the Eighte unto the same Castle of Saynle
Mychaell Harshangell beinge in the xxvth yere of the regne of our saide
Sonayne Lorde kyng Henry the Eighte That is to saye by the
space of two yeres Complete

Rolle the fide Accompaigne Chaynge
Item self with money by them beynge of
Lydell Shulle Edward Smallstede And
Philipp lewissale Maister and warden
of the fide straerme and Guyde at midyside
of whom example more plenydly shal appere

Sum —————
Receipt of Arreages

Gylfylle

Rolle of ffermese tenuis
Rolle regond of lynd Cole ffor
of one lades landis in the Countre of Esse
for the yere tenuis ended at Midyside
Chaynge in the xxvth yere of the regne of
our Sonayne lorde kyng Henry the Eighte

Sum —————
Receipt of Arreages

Gylfylle regond of master Cole ffor midsid
year bente ended at Midyside in the xxvth
yere of the regne of our fide Sonayne
Lorde kyng Henry the Eighte

Item regond of Lynd Cole ffor
for hafte arreys bente ended at hanmer
of our lade kyng in the xxvth yere of his
regne of o said Sonayne lorde kyng Henry
the Eighte

Sum —————
Sum —————

Quartrenges the fiftene
Rolle regond of the quartrenges and q
Gylfylle regond of the quartrenges and q
Also regond of the quartrenges and q
in Esseland Quarter the fiftene

Also regond of the quartrenges and q
gathering in o lades daye quare the fiftene

Also regond of the quartrenges and q
gathering in Midsonne quare the fiftene

Sum —————
Sum —————

GILD ACCOUNTS, OUR LADY OF ROUNCYVAL
Gild MSS., St. Margaret's Westminster

in the martyrdom of Joan of Arc. The Accounts make no other mention of him, nor is it in any way clear in what respect the fraternity was in his debt, but they thus claim a certain continuity for the gild with the older priory.

One other benefactor was yearly commemorated, a certain Mr. Kelke, who had bequeathed lands at Bermondsey to the fraternity. It had evidently been a generous bequest, for while the general obit of the fraternity cost it three shillings and fourpence, the year's mind of Mr. Kelke was kept with even greater solemnity, as the following entries shew:

Also in moneylayd for Mr Kelkis Obbytt this seconde yere, That is to say, to vj preestis for dirge and masse at viijd. a pece Sm^a—iijs. Item to the Bedill for the Cloth and his labore—viijd., Item to iiiij Torche holders dirge and masse—viijd., Item to the master and Wardeyns for ther beyng at dirge and masse—ijs. iiijd., Item to S^r Thomas Morgan prest and one of the kingis Almousmen—viijd. Also paid to palmer to lycense the p'stis to syng at Stalarley for boith yeres—viijd. in all... . . . ix.s.

It would seem that the chapel retained its status after the foundation of the gild, for in 1526 Roger Elys, B.A., received a royal grant of the free chapel of St. Mary the Virgin Rouncivale in the room of Richard Bromefeld deceased.¹ Presumably the three chaplains of the gild stood in the same relation to him as other chantry and gild chaplains to a parish priest. Mr. Elys is mentioned in the Accounts of 1521 as giving eightpence for the provision of a torch on Corpus Christi Day. Mr. Bromefeld seems to have caused the gild both trouble and expense, the nature of which may easily be gleaned from the Accounts of 1522:

MR BROMFELDIS PENCION WT THE COSTIS

Also in money . . . layd oute for mr Bromfeldis pencion wt the costis spent aboute the same, that is to say, ffrst for brede and ale at Semper's house at the first metyng	..	..	..	vjd.
Itm to mr hale lernyd man for his ffee	..	..	..	iijs. iiijd.
Itm to mr feirechild to be Attourney ..	..	..	..	xxd.
Itm to mr Joyner lernyd man for his ffee	..	..	..	xxd.
Itm to mr Joyner for serchyng of the bookis in the Common Place to knowe the Accion that the mast ^r and wardeyns were suyd				xvj.d.

¹ State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, 17 Henry VIII., g 2002 (27).

Itm to m' hale for A nother ffee	xxd.
Itm payd for the mast' and wardeyns botehyer to putney and for ther dener ther to speke w ^t my lord Chieff Judge of the comon place in the said matir	iij.s. iiijd.
Itm for botehyer for John laurens, George lord, and John maybourne to pudney A noth ^r tyme to speke w ^t my lord chief judge agayn..	xijd.
Itm spent at peter larkis when Semper and tharbitto ^r s mete ..	ixd.
Itm spent at Semper howse when tharbitto ^r s made an end ..	vijd.
Itm paid for wyne and Ale at Brightman for the M ^r and wardeyns and other of the brethern at thend makyng w ^t Semper and his wyf	vijd.
Itm paid to Thomas Semper and Rose his wif executo ^r s to M ^r Bromfeld for his pencion that was behynd	lxiijs. iiijd.

On coming into office on Michaelmas Day, 1520, the master and wardens received from their predecessors the sum of £23 2s. 3½d., and their income for the ensuing year amounted to £49 14s. 1½d. The largest item in the latter was the receipt of £19 9s. 4d. from what was termed "Proctor's Money." Among the privileges inherited by the gild would seem to have been the "protection" which Henry III. had granted to the original visitors from Roncesvalles. This was in effect a license to beg such as was exercised by the Jesus Gild in S. Paul's Cathedral.¹ For this purpose the country was divided into districts, and a proctor or agent appointed for each to collect the donations of the charitable. In the year under review Mistress Clerke, "wydowe," proctor for the counties of Southampton and Surrey, paid in 33s. 4d. Thomas Grove pursued his gathering of alms over a wide area, for his district consisted of Dorset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, the six counties being credited with alms to the amount of four pounds. Lancashire, Cheshire, Lincolnshire, Kent, Herefordshire, and other counties, all made their contributions.

The fact that the sums credited to each district were what would be called "round sums" suggests that the districts were farmed to the various proctors, who reimbursed themselves as best they could, as did the publicans of an earlier day. This might or might not be profitable. John Cawood, proctor for the province of York, paid in for the year "nichill,

¹ See p. 77.

forsomoche as (it) was forgyven hym by the hole howse." This generous treatment of an unsuccessful collector may have been justified, but that the proctors were not invariably honest may be suspected from the following entry:

Itm̄ receyuyd of John Aleyn p'ctor for the Countie of Kent of his Arreragis due bifore our tyme upon his owne confession xvjs. viijd.

If this John Aleyn is to be identified, as seems probable, with the Dr. John Aleyn who is mentioned later in this chapter as Wolsey's agent, the confession was probably not spontaneous, and the gild may have acquired a certain influence with him which was afterwards to prove of some profit. He continued as a proctor, but changed his district to that of Kent, and a similar entry for the year 1523 shews that he pursued the same course as he had done two years previously in Essex. Mr. Doctor Aleyn is recorded as paying lixs. iiijd. in respect of "or lady landis" in Essex as a year's rent, among the short list of properties possessed by the gild, and the impression left by this and other entries is that the gild possessed in him an unscrupulous agent well adapted for the purposes for which Wolsey afterwards selected him.

The only other fixed source of income was the quarterage or quarterly subscription of the members of the gild, which produced a sum of £10 15s. 2d. in the course of a year. It is not possible from this or other entries to determine with any certainty the number of members of the gild. Besides the quarterly subscription a box was set up in the chapel for the reception of voluntary subscriptions. That these in one year should produce a sum of £7 7s. 4d. is a testimony to the sincerity and enthusiasm of the gild members.

No mention is made of the observance of feast-days other than those of the Blessed Virgin, with the exception of "Crispany and Crispanyany day," when the sum of eleven pence is recorded as an offering at the Mass, and of one reference to the Festival of Corpus Christi.

Among casual receipts may be mentioned the sums accruing from the sale of the letters of pardon referred to later in this chapter. The price of a single copy was generally four pence,

and as the cost of these was eight pence a hundred, the percentage profit was not small.

Gifts and bequests had their share in the gild receipts, and the sum of 12s. 8d. is acknowledged as "howselyng money . . . in the weke by fore Ester," and is consequently here to be described as the offerings of shriven penitents. In one year there is an interesting reference to offerings of 5*½*d. made "for crepyng at the Crosse."

Offerings at requiem masses and year's minds, together with fees for the use of the cloth or pall and torches, produced small sums which with other receipts of no particular interest made their quota in an annual income of about fifty pounds, no small sum when the value of money at this period is considered.

Turning now to the "partycler paymentis leyd owte by the sayd wardeyns," the first item includes the salaries of the priests and bedell. In spite of the fact that the grant of 1478 provided for the employment of three chaplains, none of the extant Accounts shew that more than two were employed, the senior of whom received £6 13s. 4d. yearly and the junior £6. For regular attendance at the various meetings the master received a yearly honorarium of 6s. 8d. and the wardens 3s. 4d. each. The bedell, who was probably a resident at the hospital, received only £1 6s. 8d. a year, but it is clear that this was augmented in various ways by special fees at obits and other functions, and by methods not unknown in modern days.

It does not appear that the gild held any great annual festivity, although two or three sets of Accounts for feasts are extant. Some reckoning of Accounts took place every quarter, and a small sum was then expended on "brede, ale and chese," the biennial reckoning of the master and wardens being marked by the not extravagant outlay of two shillings upon the same modest articles of food, with the addition occasionally of "spiced bownes" and a gallon of Malmsey.

It is not possible to determine from the Accounts more than a few details with regard to the working of the alms house, as the hospital was termed. The names of the sick

are usually recorded, with the length of their stay. The expenditure on each was invariably a penny a day. The following are characteristic entries:

Itm for a syke preest callyd S ^r James Wylson that lay sike in the Almes house the space of xxxij daies	ijs.
Itm for a Scottisheman callyd Thomas Aley that died in the Almes house and lieng sike ij daies	ijd.
Itm for one Gilbertt that lay sike iiiij daies	iiijd.
Itm for a Duche man that lay sike viij daies	vijd.

Other items of expenditure occur for the provision of straw for the beds, the mending and renewal of sheets, the purchase of coverlets and the repair of the beds themselves, while in one or two cases the wardens acknowledge the bequest or gift of sheets for the maintenance of the beds, and of money in respect of some particular sick person. It is interesting to observe among the Royal Accounts for 1532,¹ in the payments for the King's manor of Westminster, an entry of the purchase of two pounds of frankincense for airing the alms house at Rounceyvalle. It is remarkable that, together with other omissions which will be noticed later, the Accounts for 1538 to 1540 make no mention of the alms house or of any expenditure whatever upon the sick.

Among other obligations imposed upon the fraternity was that of keeping in repair that portion of the highway which adjoined their buildings. In an earlier century the road between the Abbey and Temple Bar was so broken up by the traffic of the Wool Staple at Westminster that owners of houses along the road were required to pave it as far as the gutter on their side of the street, on the ground that their property had been increased in value by the Staple.² This custom was observed by the expenditure in 1520-21 of £5 9s. 1d. Four poor men were employed first of all in "castyng away of the myre and dyrrt owte of the high way," and received two pence each for their trouble. Thirty-four tons of ragstone were purchased at fourteen pence the ton, while nineteen loads of gravel and ten loads of flint were

¹ Cal. State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, 23 Henry VIII., 952.

² Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1350-54, pp. 529, 530.

also used, the gravel at four pence a load and the flint at ten pence.

Reference has already been made to pardons and indulgences extended from the mother-house in Navarre. It would seem that, though the actual priory at Charing Cross had been dissolved, connection was not completely severed between its successors and Roncesvalles itself. The ten marks which were to be paid to the mother-house were probably a charge upon the benefice, since no mention is made of them in the gild accounts, but the gild none the less inherited a pardon connected with the various feasts of the Blessed Virgin. Two or three hundred notices of the pardon were regularly ordered to be printed and pasted on the church doors of London and Westminster, and distributed or sold generally amongst the fraternity. The printing in the earliest accounts¹ was given to Mr. Wylykyns, under which title the reader will easily identify the person of Caxton's famous successor, Wynkyn de Worde. A later printer employed by the gild was Robert Copland, whose charges, it is interesting to note, were nearly double those of his predecessor. The preacher at Paul's Cross received four pence to declare the pardon, as reaching perhaps a wider audience than the curates of St. Sepulchre's and St. Andrew's, who were rewarded with two pence each for the same duty.

The relations between the gild and the parish church of St. Margaret, Westminster, were uniformly good. Many of the gild brothers were members also of the gild of the Assumption in St. Margaret's, and several of the churchwardens were at one time or another among the officials of the gild of Rounceyval. In the years just prior to and succeeding the beginning of the sixteenth century St. Margaret's had been rebuilt at considerable cost. As the money for this was not entirely raised before the consecration of the new church in 1523, the churchwardens pledged some of the church plate in order to raise it. The officers of the gild record at Michaelmas, 1522, that they have no ready money in hand. The sum of twenty-one pounds, with some odd shillings and pence,

¹ MSS. Accounts, 1520-22.

would normally have been in the treasury, but instead they acknowledge the possession of two chalices and patens, a great bell and a little bell of silver, a silver-gilt pax and a silver bason, weighing in all nearly sixty ounces. This is the only transaction of the kind recorded in the gild Accounts, but the Accounts of the churchwardens bear witness to the generosity as well as the business instincts of the gild. In 1517, and again in 1518, the gild contributed two pounds as a gift to the new buildings, and in the following year nearly eighteen pounds. In 1535 they made a further loan of ten pounds to the churchwardens for a purpose not specified, save by the general description, "church work."

The Accounts of 1523 contain an undoubted reference to the inquisitorial powers which Wolsey conferred upon the legatine court which he himself had set up, and by which he is said to have profited largely. As papal legate he was empowered to visit the religious houses, and he employed one John Allen¹ as his agent, a man of scandalous life, whom Wolsey, it was said, had as Chancellor convicted of perjury. The entries themselves seem to shew that Wolsey was not unjustly accused of sharing in the profits of bribery and extortion:

For a dener made for M ^r Docto ^r Aleyn . . . when M ^r Doctor came to vysite the place vijs.
Also to mast ^r Docto ^r Alyn scribbe in reward xxjd.
Also paid to Mt ^r Docto ^r Alyn for my lord Cardinal's grace xxvjjs. viijd.
Also to M ^r Docto ^r Alyn for his fee vjs. viijd.

It is possible that these payments were less than those extorted from other religious houses, for the master and wardens had in previous years shewn a certain wisdom in employing Allen as their counsel in some matters of dispute in which they were engaged.

The various festivals connected with the Blessed Virgin were observed with due solemnity, and on each occasion some outside preacher was engaged to deliver a sermon, and at the end of the service was entertained with "brede, ale, wyne, mete and chese." It does not appear that he received

¹ Hume, *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 118.

any other fee for his services, but his “*botehyer*” and other expenses were defrayed by the gild. On the Dedication Day the priests and choir of St. Stephen’s Chapel in the Palace of Westminster were engaged for six shillings and ten pence, and on some occasions entertained afterwards.

The Accounts for the two years ending at Michaelmas, 1540, exhibit a remarkable contrast to those already quoted. The wardens acknowledge the receipt of £16 0s. 9½d. from their predecessors, but the quarterages in the first year amounted only to £3 7s. 6d., and in the second year to £2 15s. 9d.—a sufficient testimony to the decline of the gild in popularity. The proctor’s money has disappeared altogether, as also all payments in respect of sick people. Indeed, the hospital has clearly been closed, for the wardens record that they have sold eight pair of sheets for ten shillings and given away two other pairs to poor people. The total receipts for the first of the two years have dwindled to £8 13s. 8d., and for the second to £9 6s. 0d. The chapel almsbox yielded but nine pence in the first year, and is unmentioned in the second. Moreover, the chapel itself was in process of being dismantled, though the sole reference to this is the receipt of eighteen shillings for “the brokin Syluer that was on our ladis cote,” and of one shilling for the sale of a “manuell boke.” The churchwardens’ Accounts for St. Margaret’s, Westminster (May, 1540 to May, 1542), record a payment “for takyng downe of or Lady Tabernakill at Rounchyall and for settynge up therof in the Trinitie Ile in St. Margaretis.”

In 1539 the general obit was sung, as well as those for the founders and Mr. Kelke, but in 1540 the last two only appear. Only one priest was employed in the two years, and only one sermon is recorded to have been delivered, but in spite of these and other economies the Accounts end with the balance on the wrong side, shewing a sum of more than five pounds due to the master and wardens.

In 1544 the churchwardens of St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields¹ received as a gift from the Chancellor of the Court of Aug-

¹ Churchwardens’ Accounts, St. Martin’s-in-the-Fields, March 25, 1544, to March 25, 1545.

mentation "a coope of grene Satten . . . w^t flowers and a Redd Crosse of the same Satten owt of the Rowncevall."

But little further light can be thrown on the history of the gild. The records of the Court of Augmentations¹ shew that some transactions took place between the King and the gild, probably with regard to houses, between the years 1539 and 1544, which left the King in debt to the gild for some forty-three pounds. It is hardly likely that the debt was ever paid, for on November 11, 1544, the officers and members signed a deed of surrender to the King of all their buildings and properties, and so the gild came to an end. The subsequent history of the buildings extends to about the year 1600, when, in all probability, they were demolished to make room for the new house of the Earl of Northampton. They had served many a generation, and Westminster was the poorer for their passing.

¹ 31-35 Henry VIII., Accounts of Edw. North, Lord Treasurer.

CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS GILDS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

INSTANCES of the development of a Gild Merchant into a purely religious fraternity have already been noticed. It was a natural development, for when the primary purpose of the Gild Merchant was served by a larger body the influence of religion in general and of those beliefs in particular which were the foundation principles of religious gilds was still strong enough to bind together the brethren who had in the beginning placed their business associations under the auspices of religion. In some few instances there took place a development equally natural, though its course lay in an opposite direction. In some towns a gild which had been formed solely for religious purposes gradually grew in power and influence until it became the ruling body of the town. Examples of this may be found in the history of Wisbech, Lichfield, Stratford-on-Avon,¹ Norwich, and other towns, among which Westminster is perhaps to be included.

The gild of the Holy Trinity at Wisbech, to quote a history of the town,² "seems to have been instituted to provide those expensive church ceremonies and officers, such as priests, daily masses, masses for the soul, decorations for the altar, which could only be provided by the poorer classes by mutual small contributions." It is an adequate if not very sympathetic description, and its authors were nearer the truth as to the nature of such gilds than some later and more celebrated writers. A thin folio volume contains the records of the gild's activities, the first entry in which belongs to the year 1379. In that year sixty-four brethren out of sixty-

¹ See Gross, *Gild Merchant*, i., p. 84 note.

² Walker and Craddock, *History of Wisbech*, p. 281. Richard Walker, 1849.

seven contributed twenty-six shillings and eight pence to purchase an image of the Holy Trinity. In the same year out of a total subscription of £13 14s. the chaplain, Adam Reynald, received the stipend of £4 6s. 8d., and £5 6s. 8d. was spent on woollen cloth in London to make hoods for the brethren of the gild. The gild feast is a regular feature in every account, while the existence of a gildhall implies an earlier foundation of the gild than the year under review. There is an unfortunate gap of forty-four years between the first entries and those ensuing, but it is clear that in the meantime the gild had grown greatly both in importance and in wealth. Various lands were left to it by deceased brethren, mostly upon the usual condition of masses to be said for their souls, and by 1463, at least, were sufficient in extent to warrant the existence of a bailiff to superintend their management.

The chief officer of the fraternity was the Alderman, among whose duties were those of suing and recovering of monies and of attendance at church on the usual occasions. No leases of land could be granted without his leave, but on the other hand he was not permitted to seal any documents without the consent and assent of *xij of the most honest men, brethren of the gyld*. One key of the great chest of the gild was kept by him and the other two by the Chamberlains, and as the chest had three locks, the three officials must all consent to its opening. He was elected by a committee of twelve. The duties of the Chamberlains were to oversee and survey all the repairs done by the Bailiff, and also on the vigil of the Feast of the Holy Trinity to carry wands and garlands before the brethren in their procession to evensong, with a similar duty before mass and evensong on the feast itself, and *so come home to the halle*.

Among the earliest officials mentioned are the *hostiarius*, whose duties were doubtless connected with the gild feast; the *Scavini* (*échevins*), two in number, who provided wax for the altars, received legacies, and made all payments in connection with the church; and the *Dean*, variously called *Dean of the Church* and *Dean before the altar*. The *Dean*,

however, was not an ecclesiastic, for in two successive years the office was held by a tailor. He seems chiefly to have been concerned with the functions and services in connection with dead brethren, for it was his duty to warn the gild when a brother or sister passed away, and after the gild feast to bid the brethren and sisters pray for the souls of the departed, to collect the wax due from new members and account for payments made at masses for the dead.

As the gild increased in wealth and importance other offices were created, and the duties of the earlier officials altered as was necessary. Thus we read of the Clerk, Storekeeper, Server in the Hall, Keeper of the Jewels, and the Porter, while at a later date two Aldermen and two Cupbearers are spoken of. The Clerk was at once an assistant chaplain and a legal official, or at least skilled in accounts. He translated the statutes and read his translation on Trinity Sunday after the dinner, so that no brother should come *in contempt and faute of knowlegge*. It was his duty also to make up and write the Bailiff's accounts.

The accounts of 1461 speak only of one Chaplain, whose duty it was to keep the ornaments of the altar and perform the usual services, but by 1497 eight chaplains are mentioned and an ordinance of 1504¹ prescribes the hours of the three masses and requires the priests to attend all offices in the chapel of the Trinity and the church of SS. Peter and Paul. The priests were not permitted to leave the town for a day and a night without the permission of the Alderman or his deputy. In 1513 Sir Thomas Whyte disobeyed this order, and was declared to have forfeited his penalty, which means probably the caution money or deposit that in many gilds priests were required to pay. From 1514 onwards two yearly obits were celebrated for the souls of the founders and benefactors, one on the day after Trinity Sunday, and the other on the Feast of St. Thomas. At these the sum of ten shillings was distributed amongst the priests, clerks, children and the bellman, who were present, and three shillings and four pence given to the poor in money or bread. One priest at least

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Appendix to Ninth Report, p. 295.

served the gild well. In 1515 the elective committee of eleven who are sometimes called the Jury or Inquest agreed that Sir John Swynker should be *amorteysed* to the gild for life in sickness and in health, with a stipend of £5 6s. 8d. and a chamber, on condition that he served the gild in the future as well as he had done in the past, and did not leave its service except for a promotion of ten pounds or over. Further, so long as he was in health he was to have an additional 13s. 4d. a year.

It has already been said that the annual feast was a regular feature in the gild Accounts. Among the more interesting items of expenditure in this connection in 1379 are the payments of ten shillings to the minstrels and six shillings and eight pence in the purchase of apparel for ten dancers. There is no actual record of the performance of any mystery play, though in 1464 an order occurs that the brothers and sisters should pay some contribution towards the performances of the gild. This may and probably does refer to some share which the Trinity gild took in common with a gild of Corpus Christi which with seven other fraternities existed at this time in Wisbech. Of the nine gilds the returns in 1389 are existent of six.¹ For their meetings they were permitted to hire the hall of the Trinity gild.

In 1477 the gild became possessed of an almshouse under the will of one Thomas Blower who bequeathed it for the salvation of his soul. A grammar school was also maintained at the expense of the gild and certain piers and wharfs were also kept in repair, activities which stood the brethren in good stead when the time came for such gilds as theirs to be dissolved.

It is unfortunate that the development of the gild into the controlling factor in municipal business cannot be traced with exactness, but it will be obvious that in so far as it became the possessor of property and consequently of influence and attraction, or undertook the performance of services to the town such as a school and almshouse would provide, or the maintenance of dykes and walls upon which the safety of the

¹ Chancery Gild Certificates, Nos. 38-43.

fen country depended, it necessarily tended to become a body to which the townsfolk would accord an authority which at its inception it could hardly have dreamt of or desired. It would not be surprising if in the course of this development the gild, while more than maintaining its external religious observances, yet in reality lost its title to be classed as a religious gild and found a certain continuity in the Town Corporation, which the royal clemency permitted to be established.

To such a Corporation the possessions of the gild at Wisbech were made over after their confiscation, on the payment of some two hundred and sixty pounds. Upon the new body were enjoined the duties of maintaining the school and the shores and dykes, and of distributing the same sum in alms to the poor as the gild had formerly distributed.

LICHFIELD.

The gild of St. Mary at Lichfield proceeded in its development on the same lines as the Trinity gild at Wisbech. It was founded in 1387 by five of the townsmen who obtained a license from King Richard, which permitted them to buy and hold lands to the rental value of ten pounds a year. This license was granted, so the gild book states,¹ because the King was always desirous that the honour of God and the devotion of true Christians should increase, thus the religious purpose at the beginning of the gild's history is established. As the exchequer profited by some thirty or forty pounds paid for the necessary documents, the pious desires which were attributed to the King may perhaps be estimated at their real value.

In 1548 the gild rent roll amounted to £28 16s. 8d., or rather so much was acknowledged. It is probable that the practice of deliberately undervaluing their possessions, which naturally prevailed among the wealthier gilds immediately before their dissolution, accounts for the comparative smallness of this sum.

The number of priests attached to the gild varied from time to time, but in its later years five was a common number.

¹ Harwood, *History of Lichfield*, p. 319.

They lived together in the "Priest's Hall" opposite St. Mary's church, and were governed by the usual rules.

Among the many interesting entries which the gild book contains is the oath which the brethren were to take on admission:

I. A. B. from this tyme forwarde schal be trewe to the Mayster and the bredren of the Gelde of the gloriouse virgine Marie of Lychefelde and to them that schal be in tyme comynge. I schal be obediente in alle leful and honeste thinges to be done. The cunceyl that the Mayster or the Wardens schal scheue to me I schal not tell to no man in harmyng of them, yet any thinge truly happen to cum to my knoulachinge that schulde turne in to a notabul hyndringe of the forsayde Gelde or a gret harme I schal let hyt or procure to be letted aftar my power. The ordinance accordinge to lawe ordent be the mayster und the wardens of the foresayde Gelde, and to be ordenet, as brother of the same Gelde I schal kepe truly in myne owne person. So helpe me God and the Holy Gospel.

By the year 1486 the gild had acquired complete control of the affairs of the city, as is evident from the ordinances issued for its government in that year. Sir Humphrey Stanley who had been knighted on Bosworth Field was then the Master of the gild, and he with forty-eight of the brethren drew up certain articles *for the worship of the city, unity, peace and welfare of the commonalty.* As these articles contain no regulations of a religious character they need not be further described, but it is evident that the administration of the gild property was a far larger undertaking than had ever been contemplated by its founders who had in mind only such possessions as should be given *to the increase and sustentation of God's service.*

As at Wisbech and elsewhere the gild was replaced by a Corporation under royal grant.

STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

Among the many returns made in 1389 few can vie in interest with that of the gild of the Holy Cross at Stratford-on-Avon, not alone because anything that concerns the place where Shakespeare was born and bred must needs attract

the attention of every educated Englishman, but because, when taken together with the large number of gild records still preserved at Stratford, it assists to form a collection almost unique in the length of the period with which it deals. In these records may be traced the gradual growth from a comparatively modest beginning of a gild, founded for what may be called a religious object, into a wealthy and powerful body which, in union with other gilds of Stratford, exercised a complete and unquestioned authority over all matters connected with the town, assuming that position which in larger trading centres had been occupied by the Gild Merchant.

The gild was founded at least as early as the reign of Henry III., primarily for the support of poor priests of the diocese of Worcester, ordained without title, and other needy persons.¹ In 1270 Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, granted an Indulgence of forty days to all sincere penitents who had confessed their sins and conferred benefits upon the gild. The Letters of Indulgence specify the purpose of the gild, and describe the gild itself as the Fraternity of the Hospital of the Holy Cross. Prior to these Letters, the gild had already become the possessors of an income derived from various bequests of the rents of houses and other gifts, made uniformly on the condition of prayers for the souls of the donors. The earliest of these was a bequest by William Sude, of Stratford, of a yearly rent of six pence from a messuage in the town for the safety of his soul and the souls of his father and mother and of his ancestors. Twenty-two other gifts or bequests belong to the same reign, but it would seem that for some years the gild was restricted in its proposed activities by want of sufficient means, for something in the nature of a fresh foundation was made by Robert de Stratford, who became Bishop of Chichester in 1339, and subsequently Chancellor of England. It was then designed to erect a chapel in which to celebrate mass for the souls of the ancestors of the founder and other benefactors, and of all the faithful dead. Poor brothers and sisters of the gild and the poor of the town generally were to be relieved. In addition to the

¹ Historical MSS. Commission, Appendix to Ninth Report, pp. 290 *et seq.*

chapel a hospital was to be built, in which temporary board and lodging could be given to poor priests, ordained without sure title by the Bishop of Worcester, and lay almsmen were also to be accommodated. The hospital was practically a monastic establishment. Its inmates observed the Rule of St. Augustine. They took an oath of obedience to the master of the hospital, and vowed both continence and renunciation of all worldly possessions. The lay-brothers were forbidden to wear linen except for one under-garment. They were clad in russet as it comes from the fleece, and the use of skins was permitted, while their tunics were to be closed both in front and behind. The priests wore a tunic, together with an over-tunic, furred with black or white sheepskin, and a cloak open in front without fur, but with a cross of black cloth topped with a mitre on the right arm.¹

The wardens of the gild who made the return in 1389 state that its foundation took place at a period beyond the memory of man. It had always been, and still was, governed by two wardens chosen by the brothers and sisters and retained in office as long as was thought fit. It was, of course, their business to account yearly for the moneys received and expended, and they state that their houses and rents had been the property of the gild from unknown times and confirmed to them by a charter of Edward III. Their statement as to the mode of government of the gild is in conflict with the Rule of the gild to which it is the preface. The Rule ordains that two of the brethren shall be Aldermen, and that six other brothers shall be chosen to manage all the affairs of the gild along with them, and further that all shall attend their business meetings on pain of a fine of fourpence.

The yearly subscription for membership was fourpence a year, paid quarterly, the receipts from which were charged primarily with the cost of a candle to be burnt before the Cross at every mass in the church. When a brother or sister died, this candle, together with eight lesser ones, was to be

¹ For many of the details here given the author is indebted to a collection of notes and cuttings kindly lent him by Mr. A. C. Coldicott, of Henley-in-Arden.

taken to the house of the dead, and there kept alight before the body until after the burial had taken place. All the brethren of the gild must follow the body to church, and pray for the soul. Moreover, it was directed that a third part of the brethren should be summoned to watch before the corpse during the night, and pray for the soul, the penalty for non-attendance being one halfpenny.

The gild was "kind to the dead" in a manner unusual in other gilds, or at least not recorded of many, for it provided four candles and other necessaries for the funeral of any poor man or stranger dying in the town without the means to provide such for himself.

The statute relating to the annual "drinking" which was held in Easter week contains some curious provisions. A special levy of twopence was made on each brother and sister, and each was required on pain of a fine of one halfpenny to bring a tankard to the meeting to be filled with ale for distribution to the poor. The meeting was to promote brotherly love and drive away ill-speaking. It was begun by the sounding of a bell and prayers, and thereafter anyone stirring up a quarrel was fined a halfpenny. The same fine was payable for bringing a guest without leave or for taking the seat belonging to another.

It is probable that in or prior to the year 1442 a union was made between the gild of the Holy Cross and either one or two other religious gilds of the town, for a volume preserved at Stratford containing gild records of the period 1406 to 1534 is entitled *The Great Ledger of The Gild of the Holy Cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist*.¹ In this volume is contained what at first sight seems to be a fresh Rule,² dated 1442, which bears no kind of resemblance to the

¹ Hist. MSS. Com., Appendix to Ninth Report, p. 290.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1835. Mr. Toulmin Smith seems completely to have misunderstood the character of the rules of 1442. He describes them as "made much more to serve the interests of priests," as if some strong ecclesiastical influence had been at work, and to be quite unaware that the gild had been originally founded to "serve the interests of priests" in quite another sense than that intended by Mr. Toulmin Smith (*cf. English Gilds*, p. 220).

Rule of the return of 1389, nor makes any mention of it. Such union among gilds was not uncommon, and might be expected to result in the fusion of their respective Rules in those respects in which no common provisions were made. It may have been noticed already that in spite of the purpose for which the gild of the Holy Cross was originally formed, no mention of that purpose is made in the Rule returned in 1389, nor are there any details in it which refer to the government of the Chapel and Hospital which had been erected. To the student of gild Rules this is not surprising, yet provision for such government must have been made; and it would appear that the second Rule records such provisions as were expedient at the time it was made, and adds thereto certain other statutes found necessary by experience. The second Rule is therefore not to be taken as in any sense superseding the older, but rather as a supplementary document.

The first nine of its statutes deal with the priests who seem to have become not the mere recipients of gild charity, but rather its regular chaplains, generally four, but sometimes only two in number. The first statute is *for the reule and the good gou' nance of all the prystis of the seyde gilde*. Divine service and all devotions and prayers hitherto observed are to be continued by all the priests belonging to the gild. Masses are to be said at 6 o'clock and at the three following hours, so as to be over by 10 o'clock. Should any Master, Alderman, or Proctor desire a mass earlier than 6 a.m., a priest was bound to say it on reasonable notice being given. The priests *as is afore ordeynyd as well by the Kynge as by Byschoppis that bath patronys and founders of the seyd gilde* were required to eat and drink together in one house within the said gild, and to sleep at night in their own chambers. They must be indoors by 7 p.m. in winter and 8 p.m. in summer. The gild would pay their cook's wages, but they must themselves find the cook as also their meat, drink and tablecloth. On the four principal feasts they must attend at the parish church in their copes and stay till after the mass was done, one of them, however, staying at home at the Hospital to provide service for the poor and impotent who

dwell in houses called the Alms Row. The priests were forbidden to go to wakes or to go away either to say mass or for any other purpose without leave of the Master and some of the Aldermen.

The few additional ordinances are in no way inconsistent with the earlier Rule. Before high mass on the feast day the brothers and sisters assemble at the master's house to bring him to church. At the door of the gild chapel he is to be met by the priests with cross and banner, clad in surplices and copes, but such ceremonies are dependent on the weather and are only to be performed *yef the wedir wol schape*.

There is also the provision that before becoming an Alderman a brother must serve as Proctor, but the duties are not defined. No brother must go to law with another until an attempt at reconciliation has been made and not then without leave.

It is to be observed that the second Rule neither contains nor contradicts any single ordinance of the first. The latter is more or less of the usual type, the former contains nothing approaching it. The two Rules, therefore, must be regarded as supplementary and, so far as the larger portion of them is concerned, as referring to two entirely different aspects of the life of the gild.

By the year 1442 the gild had attained to pre-eminent importance in the town, and it will be easily imagined that in wielding its power its officers had not been without temptations of a familiar kind. It was found necessary in this year to ordain that no leases of lands or tenements, nor any appointment of priest or schoolmaster, should be permitted without the full assent of all the Aldermen. Great inconvenience and hurt had been done to the gild by *private affecon and grawnte of the Master and parte of his bretheren*. A certain William Jeffs had been the offender during his tenure as Master. He had caused a grant of a pension to one Sir Harry Barnes, priest, under the seal of the gild. This grant the gild now revoked on the ground that it had been made without the common assent, and Sir Harry was warned out of the gild. Apparently he was not much to be blamed,

for it is provided that the schoolmaster should receive notice to terminate his appointment, and Sir Harry was to take his place at a salary of ten pounds a year *yef he doo his dewtee in techyng.*

In the fifteenth century the gild was at the height of its worldly importance, and the impression is strong that such importance had by now obscured to some extent the spiritual character of its beginning. The gild was indeed catholic in the admission of all and sundry to its membership, and it did not restrict that membership to those who were able to pay for admission in the current coin of the realm. Many cases occur of admission to the fraternity of the souls of the dead. In 1417 John Gibbus gave forty-three shillings and fourpence and a little brass pestle and mortar for the admission of himself and his wife and the soul of John Hale. In 1426 a gift of twenty rams paid for the admission of Henry and Elizabeth Aldebury with the souls of their parents and others. Other payments of this century include a trough of stone, three quarters of salt, a black cow, a lavatory with four cocks for the use of the chaplains and others to wash at, four thousand tiles, while perhaps the most curious was the payment of a hogshead of red wine and a hundredweight of rosin made by William Lyllynge of Bristol for the admission of himself and his wife and the soul of Joan his mother. In some cases admission was given for no fee or gift save that of work to be performed for the gild, such as the repair of their buildings, the glazing of windows, carpentering, and the cooking at the gild feast.

Among the many names of interest belonging to this century may be mentioned George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV., who with Isabel his wife and their children, Edward and Margaret, was admitted to fraternity less than a year before his death in the Tower, where a familiar rumour states that he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey-wine.

In 1535 there is the record of admission into the fraternity of the soul of Thomas, fool in the family of the Lady Anne Graye, at a cost of twenty pence.

Little record exists as to the fraternities with which the

gild of the Holy Cross became united, but some light is thrown on their joint activities by the preamble of the Letters Patent, in which Edward VI., a week before his death in 1553, granted a new constitution to the townsmen of Stratford in place of that of the destroyed gild. The preamble relates that the gild had out of its revenues maintained and supported a Grammar School and an Almshouse for twenty-four poor persons, and had also kept in repair the great stone bridge over the Avon, known as Stratford Bridge. It seems probable that the original foundation of a college of poor priests without title served no need in later days, or else the intention was not adhered to, for throughout the fifteenth century the chaplaincies of the gild were much coveted offices for the reversion of which priests were ready to pay comparatively large sums, and there is no reference in the Letters Patent to any such original intention.

NORWICH.

The gild of St. George at Norwich was founded as a simple fraternity in the year 1385. Its immediate purpose was the increase of the lights at the high mass in the cathedral church. Each member of the gild paid a farthing a week, and a fund was thus formed out of which assistance was given in case of need to poor brethren. No attempt was made, however, to accumulate any balance for this purpose, as such money as remained over was set aside with the object of making an image of St. George to stand probably in the Cathedral, rather than at the period to be carried in a gild procession or pageant. By the year 1415 the gild had increased sufficiently in wealth or importance to obtain a charter from Henry V., granting them power to choose yearly an alderman and two masters, to form their own constitution, and to have a livery and a common seal. They were to have a chaplain to pray daily for the good estate of the King and the members of the fraternity, and for their souls when dead, and might purchase lands in mortmain up to the rental of ten pounds. It would seem that the charter was sought for because the gild was in some matters in conflict with the city authorities. A set

of statutes was drawn up some time after the grant of the charter of a far more elaborate character than that included in the return of 1389. Both evensongs and mass of St. George must be attended on the Festival, and a transference was agreed on should the Festival fall three days before or after Easter Day, an ingenious arrangement which precluded the celebration of St. George's day in Holy Week but allowed of it during the Octave of Easter.

A livery of red gowns and foods was prescribed for the brethren, and of red hoods for the sisters of the fraternity, and these might be purchased only of tradesmen appointed by the gild. A brother was elected yearly to represent St. George in the procession, and was fined 6s. 8d. if he refused to take the part. The other brethren were to attend him on horseback. Four other brethren were chosen, one to bear the sword in front of St. George, another to carry the banner and the two others to carry candles. After the pageant of the procession was over the brethren and sisters were to assemble and bear the gild candle to the high altar of the cathedral church. At the conclusion of the high mass the gild feast was held, after which all attended evensong and subsequently heard the dirge for the souls of the King's ancestors and of the brethren and sisters of the fraternity. A requiem mass was held on the morrow, after which officers were elected for the ensuing year. Other statutes prescribe the attendance of members in livery at funeral offices for brethren, and lay down the curious regulation that persons who desire to be received into the fraternity and who, at the same time, are possible candidates for the mayoralty, shrievalty, or aldermanship of Norwich, shall pay twenty to forty shillings as an entrance fee. The same fee was demanded of those desiring admission who chose to take part in the procession clad in the liveries of other gilds. Otherwise the entrance fee was 6s. 8d. for a brother and 3s. 4d. for a sister.

The new constitution of the gild did not prevent the continuance of friction with the city authorities. In 1450, however, by the mediation of Judge Yelverton, an amicable

arrangement was made by which the Mayor of the city for the year should be chosen as alderman of the gild for the year following, and the Common Council of the city were to be of the fraternity on condition that they bore the charges of the feast. Thus the gild became identified with the city corporation and ceased altogether, as it had already ceased in part, to be a purely religious brotherhood. Admission to brotherhood now lay with the Alderman and Common Council, and no man outside the city could be chosen unless he were of the rank of knight, esquire, or "some notable gentleman." The procession was organised on a more elaborate scale and "contributed much to the honour of the city." Each of the twenty-four aldermen was required by an order in 1471 to send a priest in a cope to take part in the procession, and in 1472 to attend himself in a scarlet gown and hood, the Common Council men to be in long gowns. At some date probably early in the sixteenth century, St. Margaret, whose story is, of course, as closely associated with a dragon as that of St. George, came to be represented in the gild procession, and was known as the "Lady of the Gild." In 1537, eight yards of tawny and four of crimson velvet were purchased for their apparel. In an inventory of 1468, among various other possessions, was included an arm of St. George, which was presented by Sir John Fastolf and preserved as a precious relic in the cathedral church. There was also a scarlet gown with blue garters and coat armour of beaten silver for St. George, and a dragon. The latter, however, was replaced later by a new dragon commonly called the "snap-dragon," and valued in 1731 at three guineas.

In 1450 the gild numbered 264 brethren and sisters, including many of the most notable people of the neighbourhood, such as the Earl of Suffolk, the Bishop of Norwich, and Sir John Fastolf, and in 1496 Sir John Paston's name appears. In 1494 the gild leased from the Bishop the great hall in the palace in which to hold their feasts. They had the use of it for six days before and six days after the feast, provided that the King or Queen or the Bishop himself were not there.

At the dissolution of the fraternities in 1547 the banners and vestments, together with all the apparel of St. George and St. Margaret, were sold, and in 1550 their lands and houses were given for the support of an almshouse. The gild continued under the title of the Company of St. George until 1731, when it was finally merged in the Corporation of the City.

CHAPTER XI

SOME GILD DEDICATIONS

THE dedications of the churches in many of the counties of England have been the subject of careful analysis, with a mass of interesting information as the result. If there still remains much to be done in this direction it is satisfactory to think that the material for it is still in existence. Forms and ceremonies may change with the times; decoration and ornament may be swept away by the iconoclastic zeal of the Puritan, or added by the thoughtless enthusiasm of the restorer, but, generally speaking, the fabric remains as a standing witness of its original dedication. Far otherwise is it with the gilds. In so many cases their memorial has perished with them, and it is only out of fragments that any theories may be built up, and these must necessarily be tentative and inconclusive.

The word dedication is here used in its popular sense. Strictly speaking, all churches were dedicated to Almighty God and only secondarily in memorial of the saints whose names they bore. This principle underlies all gild dedications also, though it is not always expressed and where expressed is sometimes obscured in diction. A form of dedication where the principle is made perfectly clear may be found in the return of the gild of St. Katharine at Boston. The gild was known simply as the *gild of St. Katharine*, just as a church might be known as *St. Katharine's*, but the brethren begin their return with the words: *Remembering that everything should be begun in honour of God this . . . fraternity is begun in His honour and that of St. Katharine.*

It might be supposed that the factors which decided the

dedications of gilds would be the same as those which determined the names of the churches in which the gilds were located, and in the main they probably were, yet when in the few cases where it is possible the list of gild dedications is compared with that of churches in the same locality, some striking differences remain to be accounted for.

Some points of similarity may be taken first. Neither church nor gild bore the name of Almighty God, for both were founded primarily in His honour. Secondly, a strong factor which influenced both classes of dedications was the belief in the fact and in the efficacy of the mediatory prayers of the saints. From this certain conclusions followed naturally and logically. The influence of the Virgin Mother with her Son would be pre-eminent. Hence it is not surprising that in churches and gilds alike by far the most popular dedication should be to the Blessed Virgin. Of the 507 returns of gilds in the year 1389 almost one-quarter are called by her name, and kept their gild day upon one or other of her feasts. That the idea of her intercessory power was developed far beyond this in the popular mind is evident from the return of the gild of the Blessed Virgin at Boston, which asserts that the gate of salvation was not attainable without her aid. Hers was a popularity independent of the centuries and of legends temporarily current. From the thirteenth to near the middle of the sixteenth century her pre-eminence in gild and church dedication is undisputed. It has been well said by one with little sympathy for the Church in general that there has never been an ideal "which has exercised a more profound and, on the whole, a more salutary influence than the mediæval conception of the Blessed Virgin. For the first time woman was elevated to her rightful position, and the sanctity of weakness was recognised as well as the sanctity of sorrow."

St. Peter with his power of the keys appealed naturally to the popular imagination, and churches and gilds alike were placed under his protection. The numerous dedications to All Saints followed from the belief in their intercessory power. Gilds and churches in honour of the Holy Trinity were alike

common, though dedications directly to the Second Person in the Godhead were comparatively rare. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, there had sprung up a cult of the Holy Name of Jesus, and many a side chapel and a large number of gilds became known by this title.¹ The extraordinary popularity of the dedication to St. John Baptist is somewhat difficult to account for, and is not sufficiently explained by his connection with the first of the seven sacraments. Of 909 gilds known to have existed in the diocese of Norwich no less than 120 were associated with his name, while he is sixth in popularity among church dedications. It is possible that the coincidence of the feast of his Nativity with midsummer day had not a little to do with this, while the picturesque and romantic character of his life and death were of a kind to make strong appeal to the mediæval mind. The annual dance of the sisters of the gild of St. John Baptist at Baston shews one practical form in which that story was commemorated. Some gilds were connected with the feast of his *Decollation*, or beheading, which was celebrated on August 29.

The dedications of gilds owed far less to the stories of the New Testament than to the various legends which grew up about the saints whether biblical or not. The apocryphal gospels and acts were in part responsible for this, and the growth was stimulated by the spread to England in the latter half of the thirteenth century of the practice of reading aloud in church the lives of the saints on the festivals when they were commemorated. The way to this, indeed, had already been paved, for the metrical homilies of Ælfric, many of which dealt with the lives of saints, had been popular from the tenth century, though it is curious to note that comparatively few of the saints whose story he tells are commemorated in gild dedications of the fourteenth and later centuries. Possibly familiarity had robbed them of their appeal. The stories of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,

¹ E.g., the Jesus Gilds at Salisbury and Prittlewell and the Jesus Chapel at Westminster Abbey, built by Abbot Islip and commonly known by his name.

St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalen were all, so to speak, published in the latter half of the thirteenth century, though they had been current before, and with these, as with many another story, the saints of the homilies would come into competition. His influence, however, may be traced in gilds dedicated to St. Julian, St. Sebastian, St. Martin, and others, though the popularity of St. Etheldreda as a local saint would be independent of his story of her. Doubtless, too, he contributed to the popularity of the dedications both of churches and gilds to the Holy Cross.

“ For the confirming of our faith and to the glory of our Lord,
 We honour with songs of praise two days in the year
 On account of the Holy Rood, (ever) since it was discovered.
 The Jewish folk hid it with evil intention;
 They would not that this treasure should become a comfort to men.
 But the blessed Helena afterwards discovered it there,
 Through the revelation of Christ, even as He marvellously manifested it;

Now we celebrate the day on which it was found,
 In honour of our Saviour who deigned to suffer on it;

And we observe in harvest-time with holy ministrations
 A second festival—that on which it was brought
 Again to Jerusalem . . . ”¹

Among other dedications directly connected with our Lord was that to the Holy Sepulchre, which was very common in all parts of the country. Such gilds were probably to be reckoned in hundreds. For the most part their object was to provide lights and sometimes to pay for watchers about the Easter Sepulchre, where the Host was deposited from Maundy Thursday until sunrise on Easter morning.

St. Katharine stood high in favour both as a dedication for churches and gilds in certain districts, as, for instance, in Northamptonshire, where references to twelve such gilds are contained in wills of the pre-Reformation period.² Many of the gilds commenced their returns with a sort of homily on the story of the saint under whose protection they had placed themselves. The gild of St. Katharine in the church

¹ Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, E.E.T.S., 1900.

² Serjeantson and Longden in *Archæological Journal*, vol. lxx.

of St. Andrew at Cambridge in the preamble of its return in 1389 expresses itself somewhat thus:

"The Rewarder of all men leaves no good deed unnoticed, as the Holy Scriptures testify. Hence it is that the brethren desire to stir the minds of the faithful to His service; that as His servants they may rejoice in good service, and that others may be stimulated from good to better, so that when they are taken away from this light they may deserve to attain eternal life. The brethren desire also that among themselves and their successors love may abound more and more, that dissension be driven far away and divine worship be increased through their means. For the salvation of their souls offerings should be devoutly made to holy and venerable places. With these objects in view they have founded a gild for the praise of God and in honour of the glorious Virgin Katharine, their advocate, whose body was carried by angels to Mount Sinai for burial by the order of God. In honour of this Virgin our Lord Jesus had thought fit to perform endless miracles. Among these was the defeat by St. Katharine of fifty orators who had come at the King's order to destroy the Christian faith by their arguments. The orators, formerly blinded by the devil, had their eyes opened to the truth, were converted to Christianity and obtained the crown of martyrdom by burning, but their clothes and their hair remained unscathed by the flames. The brethren are obliged to omit any account of other miracles because of their vast number."

The wardens of the gild of the Assumption in the church of the Holy Trinity at Cambridge likewise justify the selection of their dedication in the course of the preamble of their return in words of which the following is a free and abbreviated rendering :

"The only begotten Son of God condescended to come down from the bosom of the Father into the womb of the Virgin Mother, where He joined the substance of our mortal nature in ineffable union with His own divine nature . . . that most holy Virgin, full of delights, sweet mother of God, by the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, brought forth the Saviour. . . . [After His death upon the Cross] He ascended above all heavens and prepared a place where she might reign with Him in everlasting glory. If, then, each

festival of the glorious Virgin and Mother, as it falls in the circle of the year, ought to be carefully observed by all the faithful in Christ . . . that festival on which the holy and happy Mother was taken up to the heavens and exalted above the angel choirs ought to be especially kept, for by this Her assumption through Her merits human nature achieved the dignity of angels."

The Gild of the Purification in Great St. Mary's Church at Cambridge makes a like justification in its preamble.

It is noteworthy that four out of the eight returns from Cambridge in 1389 are gilds in honour of the Blessed Virgin.

In many parts of the country St. Barbara had a certain vogue, while others of the Virgin Martyrs, such as St. Faith and St. Agnes, had their gild devotees.

The attempt made by Henry VII. to obtain the canonisation of Henry VI. was not pursued owing to the large sum of money demanded, but it is interesting to observe that the gild of St. Michael at King's Lynn added Henry's name as a secondary dedication about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was henceforward known as the Gild of St. Michael and King Henry. Moreover, at Alford in Lincolnshire, a light burnt before an image of the King, and was in all probability supported by a fraternity bearing his name, though no record of it exists.

Two other dedications common to both churches and gilds may be noticed. St. Nicholas, as the patron saint of sailors and of children, also stood high in favour before the close of the fourteenth century, and achieved still wider popularity in the fifteenth. Seventeen gilds in the Diocese of Norwich are known to have borne his name. St. Thomas of Canterbury had about eighty churches in England of the pre-Reformation period dedicated to him, and some thirty-nine gilds in the Norwich diocese alone as well as many elsewhere. When, in 1537, Henry VIII. caused his name to be erased in the missals, the gilds still called themselves by the name of St. Thomas, but allowed it to be supposed that their dedication was to the apostle of that name.

It has already been said that a comparison of the dedica-

tions of churches with those of gilds exhibits some striking contrasts. The most noteworthy of these occurs in the large number of gilds founded in honour of Corpus Christi. Two churches only in the whole of England had this dedication, *St. Mary and Corpus Christi*, at Hatherley Down in Gloucestershire, and *St. Mary and the Holy Host*, at Cheveley in Cambridgeshire,¹ and in each case it is a secondary dedication, added, probably, in the fourteenth century or later. On the other hand, gilds of Corpus Christi were everywhere to be found from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards. There were forty-one in the diocese of Norwich, and records of nineteen in the diocese of Lincoln still remain. In contrast with this, no record occurs in the returns of 1389 of any gild in the diocese of Lincoln bearing the name of St. Andrew, but there were sixty-eight pre-Reformation churches of that name in the same diocese. St. Helen and St. Michael were both credited with 28 dedications of churches in this diocese, but no record of a gild dedicated to the former has survived, and only one to the latter. Moreover, no record remains of gilds dedicated to the local saints Botolph and Hygbald.

It is, of course, to be remembered that gilds were being formed in churches which might have been dedicated centuries beforehand. In the meanwhile new saints had been canonised and stories of saints hitherto unknown in England had been introduced by one or other of the martyrologies. Probably the most influential of all such books was the *Legenda Aurea*, or Golden Legend, written in Latin in the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine (c. 1230-1298), a friar of the Order of St. Dominic who subsequently became Archbishop of Genoa. The name given to it by the author was simply "Legends of the Saints," but it came to be known as the Golden Legend, for as Wynkyn de Worde said: "Like as passeth gold in value all other metals; so this Legend exceedeth all other books." It was translated into French by Jean de Vigny in the fourteenth century, and was produced by Caxton in English in 1483. It formed the great storehouse

¹ Francis Bond, *Dedications of English Churches*, Oxford University Press, 1914.

of legendary lore of the middle ages and must have suggested many a gild dedication.

There can be little doubt that the picturesque character of a saintly legend was often the determining factor of a gild dedication. If the story lent itself easily to representation in a gild procession it was the more acceptable, and it is probable that the popularity of St. George was due as much to the dragon whom he slew as to the saint himself. An indenture of 1520 for a "riding George," costing thirteen pounds, runs as follows:

"For the Tymber, Warkmanschep and makyng of oon ymage of seint George calyd a rydyng George w^t y^e horse to y^e same ymage of xv hande hye and a dragon w^t a beme vowted to sett ye seyd image horse and dragon upon . . . accordyng to ther patron whyche is the rydyng George of Leystoffit; except the lyeng of the Dragon schall vary from ther seyd patron for thys Dragon schall lye rampyng on the seyd beme befor the ymage and horse . . . to be wrote, made and sett up in y^e Body of y^e paryshe churche of Wymondham."

It was, of course, for a similar reason that the story of St. Margaret made so strong an appeal. No doubt, too, what may be called the dramatic side attaching to the Corpus Christi festival had something to do with the rapidity with which that festival gained a hold on the popular mind. This is not, of course, to belittle the religious aspect by contrast with the love of pageantry, for the mediæval mind found its religious expression most naturally in dramatic form, and, after all, the Mass itself, when sung with all its due accompaniment of solemn ritual, was at once the most elementary as well as the highest drama of all.

CHAPTER XII

THE PASSING OF THE GILDS

THERE is some evidence to shew that by the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. the gilds, in the towns and larger villages at least, had lost something of their older democratic character, and were tending to become associations from which the poorer classes were tacitly excluded by reason of their poverty.

In districts where many gilds existed side by side there seems to emerge some such difference in social grade as that which characterises our modern club life. Office in the gild was coming to be regarded less as a trust to be administered than as an opportunity for increased social distinction and influence.

That such office was coveted appears incidentally from the evidence of one Richard Lightfoot in 1537. An inquiry was being held at Bishop's Hampton before John Combes, one of the King's Commissioners, into the alleged erroneous teaching by the priest of Hampton as to the Incarnation. Lightfoot asserted that a certain William Clopton had come into the gild chapel and invited him amongst others to put his name to a bill against the priest. This he had refused to do, and to induce him to change his mind Clopton had said: " You will not displease Master Combes for that he will make you this year master of the gild."

Tendencies such as these do not necessarily contain in themselves the seeds of decay, though they may assist its growth. In the turmoil of conflicting religious opinion which marked the latter half of the reign of Henry VIII., it was not to be expected that the stability of the gilds should remain

unshaken, especially when it is remembered that the chief doctrine that came under review was that very doctrine of Purgatory and the efficacy of masses for the dead which in so many cases was the chief bond uniting the gild brethren.

No history of that conflict can be attempted here. It must suffice to record some incidents in illustration of it. From the point of view of the ordinary gild-brother it will be convenient to take the year 1528 as a starting-point. By that year the New Testament in English was already in considerable circulation and an atmosphere created which was favourable to reforming opinion. In that year Simon Fish of Gray's Inn sent forth his famous *Supplication of the Beggars*. It took the form of a petition to the King in which the lepers, the lame and the impotent, were made to complain that alms which would otherwise have fallen to them were absorbed by friars, monks and priests, for the offering of masses to deliver souls from Purgatory, a doctrine which had no foundation in Scripture. The Pope was accused of cruelty and covetousness for not delivering all persons out of Purgatory. Only the rich who could well pay for it were able to secure that deliverance.

So great was the circulation of this pamphlet that Sir Thomas More was engaged to answer it. This was done in the *Supplication of Souls*. The souls in Purgatory related the miseries they were in and the great relief brought to them by the saying of masses on their behalf. Sir Thomas claimed that Purgatory had been the doctrine of the Church for many ages, but, as Burnet shrewdly points out, More's work served to make it clear that "if the belief in Purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built upon that Foundation must needs fall with it."

The controversy was continued by John Frith, a former associate of Tyndale, who asserted that Purgatory had neither the sanction of the reason, the Scriptures, or the Fathers.

In 1534 Convocation required Latimer, among others, to subscribe to the doctrine of Purgatory and the efficacy of masses for the dead, and reaffirmed their view two years later, asserting that it consisted well with the due order of

charity to pray for souls departed in masses and exequies, and to give alms for that end. Some slight change had come over their outlook, however, which to a large extent affected the gilds, for they denied that any special value attached to masses said in certain places or before certain images, and ordered such masses therefore to be put away.

Verily men knew not what to believe, for the teaching of the clergy was as conflicting as the claims of the pamphleteers. Benet, chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, preached in 1536 that if the Purgatory priests do pray with their tongues till they be worn to the stumps their prayers shall not help souls departed. In 1538, Lytherland, Vicar of Newark, was accused of bidding his hearers pray for souls in Purgatory and of magnifying and praising greatly the gilds, yet in the same year there was granted to Sir William Ayscught and the brethren and sisters of the gild of St. Mary in North Somercotes a confirmation of a patent of Edward IV., licensing John Gunthorp, Dean of the King's chapel and of Wells, to found and endow a gild for the support of a chaplain to pray for the good estate of the King and Queen and of the founders. Moreover, in the same year, Robert Towson was accused of saying: "The devyll blynde that Roode that cannate se at none daye excepte he have candelles sette byfore hym. . . . I truste within two yeres to see never an abey, mounkes, chanouns, ner fryers stondynge within the realme of Yngland, ner never an ymage stondyng within any churche. . . ."

Robert Wymond had already denied characterising such images as "idols and mammets," or urging that candles should not be offered to them. He had been accused also of saying there was no Purgatory, and that he himself did not want the prayers of the Church after his death.

Thomas Laney (or Lawney), chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, had preached against Purgatory as early, at least, as the year 1536, while at Oxford, Richard Yakesley, a monk of Thame, was cited in 1538 before the mayor for a change of opinion. He had preached, in the church of St. Mary Magdalen, that there was indeed a Purgatory as the Holy

Fathers had taught, but now denied it, and wept and wailed for the same. He was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Thame, until the mayor should find out what Cromwell's views in the matter should be.

From 1536 onwards the wildest rumours were spreading over the country. The spoliation of the smaller monasteries had roused men's minds to consider the possible fate not only of the larger monastic foundations, but also of the plate and property belonging to the parish churches and the fraternities located in them. Among the many who took part in Aske's rebellion, or assisted to foment it, were chantry priests, such as William Tristram, who was stated in evidence to have been "in harness" at York, prepared to strike a blow in support of the monasteries and chantries. "Marry," said a shipman of Hull, "we hear at Hull that ye should have a visitation here shortly, and therefore we have taken all our church plate and jewels, and sold them, and paved our town withal." The plate at the monastery of Stone, in Staffordshire, was either removed or given away to prevent it falling into the King's hands, and the gild authorities in Devon and Cornwall took steps to conceal the nature of the various endowments of lights and obits. At Shrewsbury it was freely said that the King's intention was "to have but one church where now were two, and in every parish church but one chalice." This rumour was so persistent that Henry VIII. took pains to deny it. "We take it," he said, "as great unkindness that our common and inferior subjects rise against us without any ground . . . for as to the taking away of the goods of parish churches it was never intended." The rumours did not end with the suppression of Aske's rising. One John Pearsoun, the priest of the Corpus Christi gild at Durham, was brought to trial for coming to a butcher's stall in that city and saying that the King was going to extract a year's rents from every gentleman who was on the Doncaster road at the time of the commotion. At Louth in 1536 the parishioners gathered at the choir door after evensong, and took the keys away from the churchwardens in order to save the church jewels, and opinion in that parish was well

reflected in an event which took place on the Sunday after Michaelmas. The procession was setting out, headed by a silver cross, when one Thomas Foster cried out: "Masters, step forth and let us follow the cross this day: God knoweth whether ever we shall follow it hereafter or nay!"

That there was room for some reformation is evident from the visitation charge of John Voysey, Bishop of Exeter, who bade the chantry priests, soul-priests and other stipendiaries to avoid idleness by teaching the Paternoster, Ave and Creed, to the children of their parishes. He enjoined the parishioners also at the death of their friends to have no solemn night watchings or drinkings "whereof ensue many offences and slanders."

But if altering views upon religion shook the gilds from within and provided the excuse for attack from without, the immediate cause of their downfall was the need of the Royal Exchequer and the reluctance of the King's subjects to provide for that need out of their own pockets. The Government had found it no very difficult matter to appropriate corporate property in the shape of monastic lands. Insurrections had been quelled and tiresome monks executed. The exchequer had been enriched by a yearly income, variously estimated at anything between a hundred thousand and a million pounds; yet, by the year 1545, the King's needs were again so pressing, that in the Autumn Session of that year an Act¹ was passed, conveying to the King the property of all "*Colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, gilds, and stipendiary priests.*" Indirectly it throws some light upon gild history from the year 1536 onwards. The preamble sets forth that several such foundations, though incorporated as foundations in perpetuity, had nevertheless been seized by their founders, or pretended founders or patrons; that many of the lands and other property had been sold or otherwise alienated, and that long leases had been granted of the unsold lands. Moreover, "*the maintenance of these present wars against the realms of France and Scotland . . . as also the maintenance of your*

¹ 37 Henry VIII., cap. 4.

most royal estate, honor, dignity, and estimation, which all your said loving subjects of natural duty been bound to conserve and increase by all such ways and means as they can devise;" demanded a far larger provision of money than Parliament saw its way to obtain by any other means than confiscation.

The Act was retrospective, and included all such foundations as had been dissolved after the year 1536. It complained that numbers of gilds still remaining were not used "*to virtuous and godly purposes . . . to the great displeasure of Almighty God and to the discontentation of the King our Sovereign Lord.*" The said sovereign lord of his most godly and blessed disposition intended their use to more godly and virtuous purposes, and consequently during the King's life two or more commissioners were to proceed in every county to seize all foundations for the King.

Before this could be done Henry died. Somerset, however, managed to secure a renewal of the grant¹ to Edward VI. It was not to be renewed, however, without considerable opposition. A vast deal of monastic property had never arrived at the King's Exchequer, but had passed into the pockets of rapacious members of the Court. Cranmer and others had no mind that gild property should suffer the same fate. They desired to preserve it until the King attained his majority, and then to use it for the augmentation of impoverished livings. Their opposition in the Upper House was, however, unsuccessful. In the Lower House more strenuous efforts were made. The towns of Lynn and Coventry, long famous for their gild history, were well served by their representatives in Parliament, for as the Council Book relates: "*Divers of the Lower House did not only reason and arraign against that article made for the gildable lands, but also incensed many others to hold with them, amongst the which none were stiffer nor more busily went about to impugn the said article*" than the burgesses for Lynn and Coventry. So strong was the opposition that the promoters of the Bill feared for its passing, unless *by some good policy the principal speakers against the passing of that article might be stayed.* Accordingly,

¹ 1 Edward VI., cap. 14.

certain Privy Councillors were appointed to treat with the members for the two towns, and persuade them to desist from their opposition on the promise that, once the gild lands had passed to the King, his Majesty would at once make them a new grant of the lands to be used as they were before. Thus, while in many cases lands remained still in the possession of their gild-owners, the Act, which duly passed, made over to the King all endowments for obits, lights, etc. Even the vestments of the gild-chaplains were to be handed over and sold.

The preamble of the Bill set forth that "*the King's most loving subjects . . . considering that a great part of the superstition and errors in the Christian religion hath been brought into the minds and estimations of men . . . by devising and sanctifying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory to be done for them which be departed,*" decided that all the revenues for such purposes should pass to the King. The commissioners, however, were empowered to continue endowments for the maintenance of schools and preachers, and the chantry-priests were given pensions on practically the same conditions as those laid upon the dispossessed monks.

As in the case of the dissolved monasteries the money derived from the spoliation of the gilds was never spent upon the purpose which had in part formed the excuse for the spoliation—namely, the foundation of schools. In fact, as a direct result, many schools had to be closed, since the gild funds which had supported them had been taken away. As Mr. Hibbert has said: "The measure was indeed an act of spoliation devoid either of excuse in its cause or benefit in its results," and Canon Warren has well summed the matter in the following words: "To make such need (of reform) an excuse for plunder; to commit wholesale robbery because there was some superstition in certain gild usages; to spoil country villages of their cups and saucers in order to enrich an extravagant monarch like Henry VIII., or the needy or greedy courtiers who afterwards surrounded a boy King's throne, these things form a by no means pleasant episode in the history of the English Reformation."

In all, 90 collegiate bodies, 110 hospitals, and 2,374 gilds, chantries and free chapels were destroyed. The King was not much richer, the realm did not benefit, and the poor were only made poorer as the result.

It might have been supposed that when Queen Mary came to the throne efforts would have been made to restore some of the funds to their original purpose, but though a monastery here and there, as at Westminster, had some brief revival of its former life, an Act passed in the second year of Mary's reign confirmed to the queen the divers manors which had belonged to the gilds and the money for the finding of priests, obits, lights, etc., which by the previous Acts had come into the hands of Edward VI.

The Chantry Certificates were drawn up in a different spirit, and with a different object from the gild returns of 1389. In the latter case the gilds were, so to speak, on their defence, and the information given in consequence is of the utmost value for a proper understanding of the gild system. In the former the main matter of concern is a commonplace statement of the lands and other possessions of the gilds and chantries with their annual value, while it is to be remembered that in 1389 the returns were made by the gild officers intimately connected with the concerns of the fraternity and in 1546-7 by outsiders, probably without sympathy with, though not necessarily hostile to, the gilds. Of the gild priests, where any report is made, it is frequently said that they were men of little learning and that they held no other appointment. In some cases they are well spoken of as of fair learning and diligent in the teaching of the children of the parish. The concern of the townsfolk at the confiscation of gild property is often in evidence, not it would appear from any regret at the disappearance of the gild devotions, but at the loss of the material benefits which the gild system so often conferred upon them. One instance may be taken out of many. The townsfolk of Bury St. Edmunds explain that the town contains 3,000 "houseling people and a great number of youth." The town had no school within a twenty mile radius, and only some three

hospitals. Accordingly, they petition that the confiscated revenues may be formed into a foundation for the relief of the poor and for education. The three hospitals seemingly met with no mercy, for they were granted to private persons; but it is possible that the request for a school received more attention, for a casual reference in a will of 1558 establishes the existence of a school in that year, though this may have been due to private enterprise.

There is a fair volume of evidence that reforming opinion had had, for a few years at least, considerable effect upon gild devotions. It is frequently reported that no gild meetings had been held for periods varying from five to sixteen years past, and that no obits had been celebrated for a like period. On the other hand, there is information to shew that parish priests laudably observed the obits of benefactors, even after the endowment had ceased to provide any profit. Such opinion was, it would seem, local in its effects, as might be expected. If it is legitimate to form judgment upon a mass of conflicting evidence, incomplete and sometimes one-sided and untrustworthy, one would say that the old simple spirit of devotion, which had led men and women to unite together to express that spirit in corporate fashion, had passed for ever. Its expression in deeds of charity in part still remained, and was now to be abolished. It may be that the gilds had served their purpose, but it is certain that there was nothing ready to take their place.

APPENDIX

THE GILD CERTIFICATES OF 1389 : AN ANALYSIS

Abbreviations : S. = Statutes remaining; C.S. = Craft Statutes remaining;
E. = English; F. = French; L. = Latin.

N.B.—Where the word *founded* is used in the column, headed "Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions," the purpose of the foundation is clearly stated in the original document.

Gild certificates 66 and 67 are catalogued at the Public Record Office as belonging to Waltham Cross, Hertfordshire. They refer, however, to Waltham Holy Cross, Essex.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
1 F.	BEDFORDSHIRE. Eaton. Corpus Christi, 1346-7.	Founded to keep Feast of Corpus Christi. A priest to celebrate daily in honour of the Body of Christ and for souls of quick and dead.	—	License by Edward III. to alienate lands for maintenance of chaplain.
2 L.	BERKSHIRE. Brightwell. B.V.M. No date.		—	Lists of names and payments only.
3 L.	CAMBRIDGESHIRE. Bottisham. (a) Holy Trinity. Time without memory.	Founded to maintain a candle to burn before image of Trinity on festivals; to repair church fabric, vestments, books, and ornaments of church; to assist the poor and sick of the town who would otherwise be liable to ecclesiastical censure for not contributing towards the fabric of the church.	—	The fraternity has only 22s. for the maintenance of the light. It spent all its money in the previous year in replacing vestments and ornaments stolen from the church. Walter Rous, "custos."
	(b) Nativity B.V.M. No date.	The fraternity to attend mass for a dead brother or sister. A halfpenny to the poor in soul-alms.	—	Goods to value of 64s. for the purpose of the gild. Same warden but goods in different hands.
	(c) Corpus Christi. No date.	General purpose as in (a). The fraternity to provide 13 candles to burn before the High Altar on the Vigil and Feast of Corpus Christi, and at funerals of brothers and sisters.	—	Different warden.
	(d) All Saints. No date.	General purpose as in (a).	—	35s. 10d. in hand for purpose of the gild.

(e) St. Nicholas. No date.	General purpose as in (a). Thirteen candles before the altar of St. Nicholas on Vigil and Feast of St. Nicholas, and at funerals of brethren and sisters.	— — Goods to value of 67s. 4d. for purpose of the gild.	
(f) St. Peter. No date.	General purpose as in (a).	— — Goods to value of 27s. 8d. for purpose of the gild.	
(g) St. James. No date.	General purpose as in (a).	— — Goods to value of 10s. for purpose of the gild.	
4 L.	Cambridge. Annunciation B.V.M. (Parish Church of St. Mary), 1379.	Brethren who become poor "by God's grace" shall have 7d. weekly while the money in the chest lasts. To expel discord and promote charity and devotion, in honour of the B.V.M. and for refreshment of faithful souls. A candle before the image of the Virgin to burn on her five feasts, at high mass on Sundays and at the antiphons of the Virgin daily. Four torches of 40 lbs. each for funerals of members at whose requiems the brethren will attend.	No chaplain, baker, or woman whose husband is not a gild-brother shall be admitted to fellowship. Preamble of a religious character. No lands or goods. S.
5 L.	Assumption B.V.M. (Church of Holy Trinity), 1384.	In honour of the Assumption. A candle before the image of the Salutation to burn at the five feasts of the Virgin and at high mass on Sundays and feast days. Thirty masses yearly for quick and dead. Four torches to burn at funeral of dead member unless he be too poor to pay for his burial in which case two candles only.	6d. a week in poverty by sickness or accident. If there are many poor the rectors of the gild may give more or less. No lands or goods. Preamble with story of the Assumption. S.
6 L.	St. Katharine (Church of St. Andrew), 1385.	In honour of God and St. Katharine. Three lights on a candlestick to burn on all feast days before her image: the brethren to attend first and second vespers, matins and mass or pay a pound of wax. Procession on St. Katharine's Day. Four torches at requiems, and a herse or two standards of 12 candles. Thirty masses for dead brethren.	Transgressors against the statutes to be punished by Bishop of Ely or his officer. Story of St. Katharine related. S.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
7 L.	St. Katharine (Church of St. Benedict), 1380.	In honour of Jesus Christ, the B.V.M., St. Katharine, and All Saints, to promote charity and devotion. Each member to pay 16d. a year to maintain three or more candles of 6 lbs. of wax before the image of St. Katharine. Brethren to hear mass on St. Katharine's Day and requiem mass on Monday after Trinity Sunday, and attend <i>dirige</i> and requiem at funerals of dead members at which 4 torches are provided.	If it can be afforded 7d. weekly in poverty or payment for burial. If not each brother to give what he can.	Founded by 10 skinners. 12s. 8d. in hand for light and other expenses. Brethren to have a livery. S.
8 L.	St. Mary (Church of St. Botolph), 1388.	To maintain a light in honour of the Annunciation to burn before the altar of St. James, towards which each brother will give 1 lb. of wax yearly. Two torches at funerals which all will attend.	In accidental poverty 7d. weekly and a new tunic yearly. Fraternity will pay for burial in cases of need. If two brethren are poor 4d. each weekly for the present.	The gild has a chalice value 16s. and an alb with an amice 3s., but no lands. S.
9 L.	Purification B.V.M. (Great St. Mary's), 1386.	In special devotion to Feast of the Purification. To maintain a chaplain to celebrate for the brethren and sisters and all present and future benefactors. Seven candles to burn before the Virgin's image on Sundays and festivals. Procession of gild in their livery to mass of the Virgin within the Octave of the Feast. Customary provision for attendance at the funeral ceremonies of a dead member.	7d. weekly in accidental poverty. If there are several poor brothers, the 7d. to be divided among them, unless the gild can afford more.	2s. a year subscription for maintenance of chaplain, and the light and other charges. The appointment of a chaplain to be suspended if gild funds fall below ten marks. Bishop of Ely has ultimate jurisdiction over the gild. S.

10 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of Holy Trinity). No date.	"While fortune smiles" a chaplain to be maintained to celebrate. A branched candlestick with an image of the Trinity and 3 candles on it to burn on Sundays and festivals, as long as the gild can afford it. Procession in livery to church to hear first vespers on Eve, and matting, mass, the hours, and second vespers on the Feast of the Trinity. Usual attendance at funerals of members; 100 masses for a dead member if the gild have a chaplain. Four torches to burn by the body.	7d. weekly in accidental poverty, together with a tunic and hood yearly. Widows of members to have similar benefit if they conduct themselves well and honestly.	The gild has no property whatever. Indulgences of 40 days granted in 1378 and 1384, and ratification of others unspecified. No one in holy orders may be an officer of the gild. Bishop of Ely has ultimate jurisdiction.
11 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of St Mary). No date.	In honour of the Holy Trinity. Five candles before the image of the Trinity at matins, high mass, and vespers. Procession to mass on Trinity Sunday. Usual attendance at funerals of members. One light by the body. A chaplain if the gild can afford it.	As in No. 9. Burial at gild's expense if necessary.	No lands or goods. Annual subscription for man and wife 1s. 2d., to keep up the 5 candles. An unmarried woman the same. A wife's entrance fee, 3d.
12 F.	Chatteris. (a) Holy Trinity (Church of St. Mary), 1384-5.	In honour of the Holy Trinity. The brethren maintain a wax candle 3 lbs. in weight to burn before the image during divine service on festivals.	—	Each brother and sister pays 2s. to maintain the light.
	(b) (Church of St. Peter), 1346-7.	In honour of the Holy Trinity, the glorious Virgin Mary and All Saints. Thirty tapers to burn round the Easter Sepulchre from noon on Good Friday until Easter morning. Thirty masses for a dead brother.	—	An alderman and two guardians elected to ensure that the said light be well and loyally guarded.
13 L.	Chesterton. Resurrection, <i>c. 1336.</i>	Eighteen "Judas" candles in honour of the Resurrection to burn every feast day before the Cross in the nave and two torches to burn at the elevation on the principal feasts, the same torches to burn before the corpse of a member of the gild. Brethren swear to attend funeral ceremonies on pain of a pound of wax. Thirty masses for dead members.	3d. per week in extreme poverty.	Lands given by different persons about the time of the first pestilence. The gild has given £10 for a new sepulchre, £11 for the making of a bell for the church, £18 towards the purchase of two other bells, and 55 marks for the stipends of chaplains celebrating for souls of quick and dead members.

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14 L.	St. Katharine, 1377-8.	To repair the altar of St. Katharine in the church and also the roof over it, both of which were in a ruinous condition. To repair also her image. To provide one torch and 13 "Judas," candles for her altar. Thirty masses for dead members at whose funerals all will attend. The above lights to burn thereat.	—	—
15 L.	St. Mary, c. 1377-8.	To revive an old-time chantry of one chaplain, the possessions of which were so wasted as to be insufficient for a chaplain's support. Fourteen "Judas" candles to burn before the altar of the B.V.M. on each festival.	—	—
16 L.	Elm. St. Katharine, "time without memory."	To maintain a certain light before the image of St. Katharine in the church.	—	—
17 L.	Ely. Assumption B.V.M. No date.	To find a light in the new chapel of St. Mary to burn daily at the Lady mass before the high altar. Thirty masses for a dead member over the age of sixteen years.	—	List of 18 founders of gild. The brethren have sworn to be obedient to ecclesiastical and secular authority.
18 L.	All Saints (Church of St. Mary), 1331.	To maintain 13 candles in the church. Thirty masses for dead brethren and 30 pence in soul-alms.	—	—
19 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. Mary), 1378.	To maintain 13 candles in the church to burn on all major and minor feasts. Brethren attend mass on St. John Baptist's Day. Thirty masses for dead brethren and 30 pence in soul-alms.	—	—

20 L.	All Saints (Church of St. Peter), c. 1375.	Founded to maintain 13 candles to burn on All Saints' Day and certain other festivals at the discretion of the warden and brethren. Brothers and sisters to attend funerals of members. Thirty masses for the soul of the deceased or 30 pence in soul-alms to the most needy.	Help in unexpected poverty at the discretion of the brethren.
21 L.	Corpus Christi (Church of St. Peter), No date, but founded by Sir Robert Aylsham, monk, and others.	To find 2 torches on Sundays and principal feasts to burn at the Elevation of the Host. Brethren and sisters to attend funerals. Thirty masses for the deceased.	Help in poverty from the charity of the gild.
22 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. Peter). No date.	The brethren will find 3 torches, one for St. John Baptist's altar in the cathedral, another for the parish church of St. Mary, and the third for St. Peter's Church.	Seven brethren.
23 L.	(i.) St. Peter (Church of Holy Trinity), c. 1309.	Twelve torches at funerals, each brother giving 1d. in soul-alms. Thirty masses for the soul of the deceased. If funds permit, a chaplain to celebrate yearly for the members and for the souls of benefactors and the faithful departed. Twelve torches at the Elevation of the Host and 3 candles on feast days during divine service.	Alderman, dean and clerk. S.
	(ii.) St. Etheldreda (Church of Holy Trinity), c. 1289.	In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and St. Etheldreda. Two candles for all feast days, one before the shrine of the aforesaid virgin in the cathedral, the other before the image of the Trinity in Holy Trinity Church.	Uses as in (i.).
	(iii.) St. Katharine (Church of Holy Trinity), c. 1376.	In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and St. Katharine the virgin. Uses as in (i.).	—
	(iv.) Holy Cross (Church of St. Peter), c. 1374.	In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Holy Cross and the finding of the same. Thirty masses for the dead. Fines go towards the gild-light.	S.

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23 L.	(v.) Holy Trinity (Church of St. Peter), c. 1358.	In honour of the Holy Trinity. Thirteen candles in church on Trinity Sunday and certain other feasts. All attend funerals of members. Thirty masses for the soul of deceased or 30 pence in soul-alms.	Help from the goods of the gild in poverty or need.	Entrance fees used for lights or other works of charity, the amount of the fee to depend on the conscience of each new member. Thirty poor to feast with the brothers and sisters at the Trinity feast.
24 F.	Haslingfield. Assumption B.V.M. , c. 1343.	Founded to maintain a chaplain to sing service daily in the (newly-founded) chapel of Our Lady.	—	Licenses for lands for the specific purpose of the gild. As the lands are insufficient the Alderman and fraternity collect what is needful amongst themselves.
25 L.	Leverington Assumption B.V.M. , 1386.	Founded to repair a picture of St. Mary, to repair and maintain a chapel of the B.V.M., to support a chaplain celebrating for the fraternity, to find 5 torches to burn on Sundays and festivals at the Elevation of the Host and two torches to burn daily at the antiphon <i>Sicut Regina</i> .	The brethren will attend funerals and make offering for the soul of the deceased.	—
26 L.	(i.) Corpus Christi , 1378. (ii.) St. George . Founded on same day as (i.).	Founded to maintain a light and 4 candles to burn "about the Body of Christ." On Corpus Christi Day all assemble for a mass on behalf of quick and dead.	In need 6d. a week.	Certificate in bad condition.
		Founded to maintain 2 candles to burn both on greater and lesser festivals. On St. George's Day all assemble as in (i.).	In need 3d. a week.	Same warden as in (i.).

	(iii.) St. Mary, 1382-3.		No goods except 2 candles for all property was burnt in a sudden fire.
	(iv.) St. John Baptist, 1380-1.		As in (iii.).
27 L.	March. St. Wyndred the Virgin. No date.	In honour of St. Wyndred the Virgin who has been there translated. Two candles to burn on festivals before the shrine and one at the Elevation of the Host. Brothers and sisters attend the funeral of a member and make offering for his soul, and each causes a mass to be said and pays a penny in soul-alms.	If the gild should be destroyed through the pestilence or any other destructive agent, its goods are to go to the fabric of the chapel of March.
28 F.	Pampesworth. Assumption B.V.M., “ lately begun.”	Founded to help and amend the church (fabric) which is in a bad state.	Since the church-roof must soon be renewed they pray for the sake of God that their goods may not be touched.
29 F.	Sawston. (i.) Invention of Holy Cross. (ii.) Nativity of St. John (Baptist). (iii.) Nativity of B.V.M. All “lately begun.”	Word for word as in 28.	Word for word as in 28.
30 L.	Stow. St. John Baptist (Church of St. Mary), c. 1359.	In honour of the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. If convenient the brethren ought to be present at the funeral mass of a brother. A year's mind shall be held at the gild's expense.	Burial at the expense of the gild if need be. 7d. a week in genuine poverty.
31 L.	Stretton. Isle of Ely. Corpus Christi (Church of St. James), 1350.	Founded to maintain 26 candles to burn about the Body of Christ in the Corpus Christi procession and in the church on other festivals. Thirty masses for a dead brother; all attending <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> and the mass at his funeral.	Residue of goods to go, at discretion of the brethren to the fabric and work of the church. S.
			S.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
32 L.	Stretham. St. Mary. ? Nativity B.V.M. , 1344.	Founded to maintain 12 candles to burn in Church of St. James at Mass on all festivals. Offerings for living and dead at the Nativity. Brethren attend funerals of members, carry torches and make offerings.	As in 31.	S.
33 L.	Swafham Bulbeck. (i.) Holy Cross. (ii.) St. Margaret. (iii.) All Saints. (iv.) St. Mary. “Time without memory.”	(i.) In honour of Holy Cross, to keep a light burning before it in the church on all festivals, to repair the church, renovate vestments, books, ornaments, etc., and relieve the deserving poor and sick. Brethren attend and make offering at the mass for a dead brother. (ii.), (iii.), (iv.) as in (i.) <i>mutatis mutandis.</i>	—	—
34 L.	Tydd St. Giles. Holy Cross, 1385-6.	In honour of the Holy Cross. All the brethren to assemble and make the greater devotion in the chapel of the Holy Cross, which is by the sea and is a holy place. Two torches at the Elevation of the Host. Any profit resulting (from subscriptions) to be spent in soul-alms for benefactors.	—	—
35 L.	St. Giles, 1386-7.	Brethren attend funeral ceremonies for dead brothers and give ½d. in soul-alms. Three candles at the Elevation of the Host. Profits to go to a candle before the altar of St. Giles.	—	Subscriptions paid in beer for the maintenance of the candles. The brothers and sisters are in perfect charity, good will and accord.
36 L.	St. Mary. Ordinances made im- mediately after the “first pestilence” (i.e., c. 1349).	Founded to improve divine service and for the benefit of souls of the dead. Hence a chaplain to be pro- vided to celebrate and pray for them. Two torches on feasts at the elevation and 1 candle before the image of the B.V.M. When a brother dies the bell- man to ring his bell through the town and call men	—	Founded by W. Everwell, chaplain, and Nicholas, Clerk, because they two alone were insufficient to carry out the purpose in mind.

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40 L.	St. Mary (Church of St. Peter), 1387.	The brethren promise to find a proper chaplain to celebrate in St. Mary's chapel for the souls of members and benefactors, 8 torches and certain candles on festivals. Brethren attend in livery of the gild at <i>placebo, dirige</i> and funeral ceremonies of dead members.	—	—
41 L.	St. Peter, 1327-8.	The brethren will find a chaplain to celebrate continually for the King and Queen, <i>pro tota fidei consilio Angl'</i> , and for founders, helpers and maintainers of the gild.	—	Ordinances against brawl. S.
42 L.		The torches shall burn during prayers in the Hall (i.e., at the gild-feast), and the chaplain will pray for the souls of dead brothers and of the faithful departed. These torches also burn at funerals and each member gives 4d. in soul-alms.	A yearly requiem to be held. Five candles on double feasts before the image and altar of St. Peter at vespers and matins.	—
43 L.	Holy Trinity (North side of church), 1379.	On the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, the brethren wear hoods of the gild pattern. Six torches burn on that day and certain other festivals.	—	—
		Founded to build a chapel on the north side of the Church of St. Peter and to build and maintain an altar with an image of the Trinity, vestments, 11 candles and 13 torches to burn on festivals, and to support a chaplain celebrating perpetually for the welfare of England and of Thomas de Arundell, Bishop of Ely, and other benefactors and all Christians, for the souls of Edward, Prince of Wales, Richard, Earl of Arundel, and of dead brothers and sisters, and of the faithful departed.	A brother losing his goods by act of God, fire, water or robbers, or by sickness, so that he would otherwise have to beg, or if by act of God he be paralysed, dumb or blind and be similarly reduced.	Names of founders who made ordinances. Ac- count of expenses. S.

APPENDIX: DERBYSHIRE

149

44 F.	DERBYSHIRE. Bashow. Our Lady, c. 1385.	The brethren attend first vespers on the eve and requiem mass on Trinity Sunday.	The certificate is drawn up by Rauf leche and neighbours, who live by the chapel of Our Lady of Basselowe, and are "commonly called" the fraternity of our Lady. They do not hold assemblies or feasts and have no money, but have oxen for hire and some lands.
45 L.	Chesterfield St. Mary. No date, but a list of 43 benefactors from the time of E., son of H. (? 1218.)	In honour of St. Mary and to maintain her mass. Four days of the week the chaplain shall celebrate this mass and on the remaining days for the souls of all benefactors, a list of whom he shall have for special mention. Thirteen candles round the corpse of a brother, each member paying $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms. Obits of aldermen, and of Hugo of the Peek, and of the brethren generally once a year.	A brother falling into poverty not of his own fault shall receive a gift of 2d. from each brother, and so on two more occasions if need be. A brother in poverty by reason of old age, loss of limbs or leprosy, to be helped by those who are able in turn or they shall procure a dwelling for him.
46 L.	Gild of Holy Cross of Merchants of Chesterfield. No date.	Two ophaplains at altar of Holy Cross.	(A fragment only.)
47 L.	Gild of Smiths. No date.	They will find 1 great and 12 smaller candles about the Cross, the 12 smaller ones also to be used round the corpse of a brother.	Ordinances up to 1386, when they were merged into the gild of Holy Cross. S.

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48 L.	Dronfield. St. Mary, 1349.	Founded to maintain one, or if possible two, chaplains, and a light at St. Mary's altar. The chaplains to celebrate for the good estate of the King and Queen, for the tranquillity of the whole realm, and for the brethren and sisters living and dead. Each brother or sister gives a farthing in soul-alms for a dead member, 12 candles round the corpse of a brother, but 6 round that of a sister.	In unmerited poverty 1d. per day or entertainment at house of a brother or sister. —	Ordinances re settlement of disputes.
49 L.	Eckington. St. Mary and Holy Cross, 1310.	Founded to maintain a chaplain celebrating for the King and for living and dead brethren.	—	—
50 L.	Eyam. Our Lady, c. 1369.	Founded to increase divine services and maintain a chaplain at the altar of Our Lady.	—	Endowed chiefly with oxen let out to divers persons.
51 F.	Tideswell. Our Lady, c. 1349.	As in 50, but two chaplains.	—	The brethren do not hold assemblies nor have they held feasts for seven years. They come together only at funeral ceremonies.
52 L.	DORSET. Swanage. (?) Assumption B.V.M., c. 1349.	Let the brethren come on the Feast of the Assumption to the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Swanage and offer 13 new tapers in her honour, and so yearly. Any excess to be spent on the fabric of the church or other works of charity.	—	—

53 L.	ESSEX. Chelmsford. Holy Trinity, c. 1369.	In honour of the Holy Trinity. Certain candles to burn on festivals before the image of the Holy Trinity. A chaplain to celebrate for the good estate of the living and for the souls of dead brethren. Brethren attend funerals and give a penny in soul-alms.	—	—	—
54 F.	Hatfield Broadoeak. Gild in St. Mary, 1362-3.	To maintain a light before the image of Our Lady and to find a chaplain. The residue for repairs of the church and of necessary things (and then to repair roads).	—	Four men began to find the light and were then joined by others, and then two masters were chosen, etc.	S.
55 L.	Maldon. Assumption B.V.M. (Church of St. Peter), 1378.	From a weekly subscription of 1d. from each member a chaplain is maintained and 5 candles also which burn before the image of the B.V.M. at high mass and mass of the B.V.M., on Sundays, double feasts and at the <i>Salve Regina</i> . One candle at the chaplain's daily mass. A torch extra when the 5 candles are burning. One requiem mass per week. A calendar of obits to be kept. Certain rules as to other masses in the week. Year's minds for all dead brethren. Each brother and sister to say thrice in the year the psalter of the Virgin with intention for the living and dead.	—	—	S.
56 L.	Holy Trinity (All Saints' Church), 1376-7.	A chaplain maintained to celebrate for the brethren. Three candles and 2 torches before the image of the Trinity. The chaplain to be the special assistant at divine service in the church. Five candles and 2 torches burn by the corpse of a brother and the chaplain performs all necessary services for him.	—	—	—
57 L.	Rayleigh. Holy Trinity, 1369.	Certain candles and 3 torches burn on festivals and a chaplain celebrates on those days for the brethren.	—	—	—
58 L.	Walden. All Saints. No date.	A priest celebrates yearly for the fraternity, living and dead. Five torches in honour of all Saints burn on Sundays and festivals at the elevation.	—	—	—

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59 L.	Corpus Christi, 1377-8.	Founded in honour of God and of His precious Body and Blood. They will maintain as long as they can a chaplain celebrating for living and dead. Six lights before the cross, 4 torches at funerals, for the carrying of which 8d. is given to 4 poor men. Brothers attend funerals and pay 1 <i>ld.</i> in soul-alms.	8d. a week in accidental poverty, sickness or other mishap.	Poor strangers buried at the gild's expense. Poor women with child coming to the town to have a charism, and a penny to offer at their purification.
60 L.	Holy Trinity No. date	Founded simply out of sincere devotion. A priest appointed to celebrate yearly for the brethren, quick and dead. To find yearly 50 torches in honour of the Trinity to burn on Sundays and other festivals at the Elevation of the Body of Christ.	—	—
61 F.	GLOUCESTER-SHIRE. Cirencester. (?) Holy Trinity and St. Mary. temp. Edw. III.	To found a chantry of two chaplains in the parish church to sing for all members of the fraternity.	—	License to acquire manor of Bagynden, etc., 1382. Several townsmen and others have joined the fraternity, in order to be partakers in the prayers of the chaplains.
62 F.	Tetbury. Assumption B.V.M. , temp. Edw. III.	To provide a chaplain to sing at the Lady altar in the parish church. The chaplain will celebrate for the welfare of Edw. III. and Queen Philippa, and for their souls and for the souls of Peter de Brewys and his wife Agnes and Thomas their son, and for the souls of all the faithful departed.	—	Licensed in 1363, to acquire 24 messuages, etc., to support the chaplain.
63 F.	Tewkesbury. (i.) St. Katharine, temp. Edw. III.	To provide a chaplain singing in honour of God, Our Lady and St. Katharine and all members of the fraternity, and for all Christians.	—	Others have joined in order specially to share in the prayers of the chaplain.

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69 L.	LANCASHIRE. Lancaster. Holy Trinity and St. Leonard. Statutes dated 1377.	The bellman warns all brethren to attend <i>placibo, dirige</i> and mass for dead brethren. Each brother says 60 paternosters and as many "angelic salutations" for the soul of the brother. Year's mind with lights. Other ordinances for maintaining 2 chaplains singing for the King and Queen, the Duke of Lancaster, the whole kingdom, and all brethren and sisters deceased.	—	Ordained "quod nullus eorum uxorum vel filiam vel sororem alterius cognoscet nec permitat ab alio cognosci . . . nullus eorum recipiat in domo sua sceleris adulterios nec ipsam adulterii debent . . . Other similar statutes.
70 L.	LEICESTERSHIRE. Leicester. Assumption B.V.M. (Church of All Saints).	In honour of the Assumption, for the promotion of divine service and for works of charity. Robert Pontrol and others, in view of the fact that the church had no other chaplains save the vicar, agreed that they would each contribute a penny on Sundays to purchase a vestment, missal and other altar ornaments. When these were bought they engaged a chaplain, and since the entry into the fraternity became so large they have now two chaplains. Brethren attend funerals and offer 1d. in soul-alms.	All contribute to help one weighed down by long sickness or made poor by robbers, fire or other mishap.	Two founders survive, 17 others are dead. S.
71 F.	Corpus Christi, St. Mary and All Saints, 1343.	Founded for amendment of life and salvation of their souls and the souls of their ancestors, fathers, mothers, friends, successors. They will have a chaplain to sing for all these and a torch to carry in honour of God and of the solemn feast of the consecration of the blessed Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.	The fraternity will assist, visit and generally have regard to brothers who fall into poverty.	License 23, Edw. III., for alienation of land to the foundation of the chantry. S.
72 L. and F.	Jesus, St. Mary, St. Margaret and St. Katharine (Church of St. Margaret), 1355-6.	Two priests to celebrate at St. Mary's altar in honour of St. Mary, St. Margaret and St. Katharine for brethren living and dead. Henses with torches for dead. Brethren attend funeral ceremonies. One priest celebrates an early mass and the other at midday.	Help in misfortune through sickness, robbers, false men, fire or water.	License to acquire lands to found a chantry for souls of founders and benefactors, etc. S.

LINCOLNSHIRE. Alvingham. Corpus Christi, 1376-7.	At its foundation all the charitably disposed gathered together and discussed how they could maintain and increase divine service. They decided that when their goods were sufficient to support a chaplain to have a daily mass for quick and dead. The chaplain to give other necessary help in the church. At a funeral $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms from each brother and sister.	—	Each gave 1 qr. barley at the foundation of the gild.
73 L.	Ameoots. Holy Cross, 1377-8.	Founded to maintain 26 wax candles to burn in the church in honour of the Holy Cross.	—
74 L.	St. Thomas the Martyr (Chapel of Ameottis), c. 1371.	They maintain certain candles before the crucifix in the chapel.	—
75 L.	Baston. St. John Baptist, c. 1366.	Founded in honour of Jesus Christ, blessed Mary, St. John Baptist and all Saints, for the increase of divine worship and the devotion of man. Twenty-six candles annually before St. John's altar. They will have a chaplain when their goods are sufficient. All attend funerals and pay $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms.	—
76 L.	St. Mary. 1341.	A chaplain celebrates on solemn days and festivals. Lights and herse at funerals, which all attend; $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms. The dead are remembered at mass for a whole year. Thirteen pound candles burn before the Lady altar on the five feasts of the Virgin.	—
77 L.	St. Katharine, c. 1382.	In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, blessed Mary, St. Katharine the Virgin and all Saints, for the increase of divine worship and the devotion of man. Thirteen candles annually before St. Katharine's altar.	—

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79 L.	Binbrooke. Corpus Christi, 1360.	Founded by John Coke and others in the desire that the health of their souls might be much increased. To collect six marks and then employ a chaplain to sing daily mass for a year, and so in following years.	—	—
80 L.	St. Helena, 1376.	Same purpose and plan as in 79.	—	—
81 L.	Holy Trinity, 1362.	Same purpose and plan as in 79.	—	—
82 F.	Boston. The Ascension. No date.	Was founded chiefly in honour of God and of the blessed Ascension and for the great desire they have to augment and increase divine service. A chaplain sings for them and all Christian souls; 12 candles burn on festivals, and 16 torches round the corpse of a brother and in the Corpus Christi procession and on Easter morning.	—	—
83 L.	Corpus Christi. Renewed 1349.	Six chaplains daily singing for Edw. III., Q. Philippa, Edw., P. of Wales, and the brethren and sisters quick and dead. Candles at Corpus Christi and round dead brothers.	12d. a week in poverty. Licensed 1349, to acquire land to value of £20 to support chaplains.	—
84 L.	St. James, Apostle. No date.	Founded simply in honour of God and St. James, and for the great desire of the brethren for the increase and augmentation of divine service. Candles and torches as in 82.	—	—
85 F.	Cordwainers (St. John Baptist,) No date.	Chiefly in honour of St. John Baptist, to find a chaplain. They have vestments and ornaments, 12 candles at mass on festivals, 12 torches as in 82.	—	—

86 F.	St. Katharine (Church of St. Botolph), 1349.	Remembering that everything should be begun in honour of God, this "small and simple" fraternity is begun in His honour and that of St. Katharine. Six candles before her image at matins and mass on festivals, 12 torches as in 82.	—	—	—
87 L.	B.V.M. , 1260.	Since we cannot attain the gate of salvation without the powerful aid of the "Star of the sea," . . . One priest says mass at dawn, the other at 9 o'clock, in order that those leaving the town early or returning late to it, may not be prevented by the hours of their business from hearing mass by reason of the lack of celebrations. Nine candles at first mass, 13 at mass and vespers on Sundays and feasts. These burn before the Lady altar from dawn till 9 o'clock; 14 torches always burning. Torches at funerals.	—	Yearly distribution to poor of bread and herrings, for the souls of benefactors. S.	Founders names are given. S.
88 L.	St. Peter and St. Paul (Church of St. Botolph). No date.	They desire to name the fraternity after St. Peter and St. Paul, invoking the author of pardon to grant them special grace that they may have perfect charity amongst them and remission of sins, by the suffrages of the two apostles. They desire to add a new chancel at their own expense on the north side of the church, and by the altar in it two new wooden images of the apostles Peter and Paul with 13 candles round them. Two chaplains celebrate for the good estate of the King, etc. Twelve torches in procession before the Sacrament and on Easter Day, and at the funerals of brethren, which all attend, etc.	Burial in case of need at the gild's expense. 14d. weekly in poverty.	—	—
89 L.	St. Simon and St. Jude , 1368.	Founded in honour of the Supreme Saviour, the B.V.M., and St. Simon and St. Jude. A priest annually to say mass for the souls of benefactors and for those who are in peril on the sea. Twelve candles on Sundays and festivals at mass. Brethren attend funerals, 12 torches then and at the Corpus Christi procession.	—	—	—

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
90 F.	Holy Trinity. No date.	Begun chiefly out of their great desire to augment and increase divine worship. A chaplain singing for them and for all Christians. Thirteen candles for festivals, 16 torches for funerals, the Corpus Christi procession and Easter morning.	—	—
91 L.	Burgh. St. James, c. 1365.	Five men had vowed a pilgrimage to the land of St. James, and while returning after its completion were in great danger from a storm at sea. So they vowed that if by the intercession of St. James they were preserved and should return in safety to their homes, they would build an altar in honour of St. James in the church of St. Peter. When they had made their vow, the storm ceased, and by the saint's intercession they came to their desired haven. On coming to their own homes and being asked by their neighbours how they had fared, they told of the tempest and of their vow, so all combined to build the altar.	—	Each brother gives a measure of barley to the church fabric. They meet yearly to choose an alderman.
92 L.	Castor. Corpus Christi, 1376.	The brethren noticed a great lack in the church—namely, that from the "day of the Preparation," on which the Body of Christ is placed in the shrine by the priests, to the time of the Resurrection, no natural light was set to burn about the Divine Body. So they have ordained that 13 lights should then burn. Forty candles carried by brethren in the Corpus Christi procession and at the parish mass on that feast each offers 1d. In honour of the same Body they have a priest to celebrate for quick and dead every Sunday. The brethren attend funerals and find 8 tapers to burn during the office and mass, each brother offering 1d. and giving 1d. in soul-alms.	Burial in case of need at the gild's expense.	At the gild feast, they eat and drink together at their own expense.

93 L.	Purification B.V.M., 1358.	Founded out of a special devotion which certain devout men had towards the Virgin. A light in honour of the B.V.M. on Sundays and festivals. Five lights on Sundays from vespers to the <i>Salve Regina</i> . A chaplain maintained to celebrate for souls, etc. At funerals members offer $\frac{1}{d}$. and give $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms.	— —	Gild feast held at the house of a brother or sister. Entrance fee $\frac{1}{d}$ qr. barley and 1 lb. wax, towards the light.
94 L.	Coningby. (i.) Corpus Christi.	At their own expence they each find a candle to burn before the crucifix in honour of the Body of Christ. In some years, when they can agree to it, which rarely happens, they have a chaplain to celebrate for souls, etc., and for his salary each gives what he can afford.	— —	Twenty-four men and their wives.
	(ii.) Nativity B.V.M. No dates.	A candle each before the image of the B.V.M. Chaplain as in (i.).	— —	As in (i.).
95 L.	Crowland. Corpus Christi and St. Guthlac. No date.	In honour of our Lord, St. Mary, all Saints and St. Guthlac and for the souls of brothers and sisters, quick and dead. A chaplain celebrating year by year for brothers and sisters and benefactors. On the Feast of Pentecost the alderman presents alms to the value of $\frac{1}{d}$. to each poor man who asks it. Before the day of the "deposition of St. Guthlaci", the alderman appoints two men to hang cloths about the statue of the saint and prepare a herse with lights. $\frac{1}{d}$. in offering at mass for a dead brother. Brethren attend <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> for the dead whose names are recorded and remembered yearly at mass with the four gild-lights.	— —	In sickness or need 40d. annually, with a tunic and hood of russet.
96 L.	All saints. No date.	In honour of God and for the salvation of souls of the brethren, quick and dead. A chaplain celebrating year by year for souls. The rest <i>mutatis mutandis</i> , as in 95.	— —	—
97 L.	Holy Trinity. No date.	In honour of our Lord, the Holy Trinity, and for the souls of brethren, quick and dead. A chaplain celebrating yearly for members and benefactors. Requiem mass yearly with a reading of the roll of living and dead brethren. Funerals as in 95.	— —	—

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
98 L.	St. John Baptist. No date.	In honour of our Lord, St. Mary, all Saints and St. John Baptist and for souls, etc., as in 97. Other arrangements as in 95.	—	—
99 L.	Fotherby. B.V.M. , 1382-3.	Founded as the outcome of a discussion as to the best way of maintaining and increasing divine service. A chaplain to be appointed when means allowed to sing for souls, etc.; $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-salms at funerals.	—	—
100 L.	Falstow. Corpus Christi, 1366.	As in 99.	—	—
101 L.	Holy Trinity, 1381-2.	As in 99.	—	—
102 L.	B.V.M. , 1356.	As in 99.	—	—
103 L.	Grainthorpe. B.V.M. , 1358.	Begun in honour of B.V.M. in augmentation of divine service and for the refreshment of all faithful departed. Each gives $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-aims to purchase bread for the poor. Chaplain celebrating daily for John, Duke of Lancaster and the brethren and sisters of the gild. Five lights daily before the Lady altar.	—	A master holds lands by royal license, to provide the feast and support the chaplain.
104 L.	Gedney. The Assumption. No date.	In honour of our Lord, the Assumption of the B.V.M., and all Saints and for the souls of brothers and sisters, quick and dead. A chaplain celebrating yearly for fraternity and its benefactors as long as means allow. Two torches at high mass on Sundays and festivals from the <i>Sanctus</i> to <i>Agnus Dei</i> . Yearly the brethren attend vespers, etc., on the Eves and mass of requiem on the Feast of the	—	Thirteen poor admitted to the gild feast.

105 L.	Gedney Fen in Holland Holy Ghost (Chapel of the Holy Trinity). No date.	In honour of our Lord, the B.V.M., and all Saints and for the souls, etc. A chaplain celebrates yearly for brothers, sisters and benefactors. On the vigil of Pentecost the alderman appoints two men to hang cloths about the altar of the Holy Spirit and place lights there. Once in the year the roll of the living and dead is read out. Brethren attend funerals and make offerings.	— — Thirteen poor admitted to the gild feast.	—
106 L.	Gedney in Holland St. John Baptist (Church of the Assumption).	In honour of our Lord, St. Mary and all Saints and for the souls, etc. Chaplain as in 104. Thirteen candles and 2 torches at high mass. Attendance on Eve and Feast of St. John Baptist as in 104. Funerals as in 104.	— —	— — Thirteen poor share in the gild feast.
107 L.	Gedney. Holy Trinity (In a certain chapel). No date.	Chaplain celebrates yearly for brethren, sisters and benefactors in the chapel of the Holy Trinity. Thirteen candles in honour of the Holy Trinity. They give of their goods to the repair of the chapel. On Trinity Sunday all attend requiem mass and offer for souls. All attend funerals, and on the day of burial the alderman, in the name of the whole gild, gives ½d. to any poor man who asks it. The gild light is also burnt then.	— —	— — Thirteen poor share in the gild feast.
108 L.	St. Thomas of Canterbury and All Saints, 1336.	On the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas all come together in devotion to the day and hear mass and make offering in the Saint's chapel. A chaplain in the parish church celebrates once yearly and twice in their own chapel if their means allow. Two torches burn at high mass on Sundays and festivals from the <i>Sanctus</i> to <i>Agnus Dei</i> . On the Eve and Feast of St. Thomas they attend vespers, etc., of the dead and mass, and each offers 1d. They attend funerals, where 2 torches and other lights burn, and the gild pays 30d. for a mass for the soul of the dead.	— —	— — — —

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
109 L.	Grantham. Corpus Christi, c. 1339.	<p>Begun in honour of Corpus Christi out of devotion on the townsmen. Before the time of procession on Corpus Christi Day they assemble at the church, the two priests in the sacred vestments carry the Body of the Lord attended by two boys in albs carrying the gild candles, followed by the brethren and sisters with candles. At the mass each offers as he pleases. After the mass the 2 candles are carried to the high altar by the boys and remain there. Of the other candles, two burn daily at the high altar and one at the Corpus Christi altar during mass. After the (Corpus Christi) mass they eat together and each couple—i.e., husband and wife, gives food to a poor man. To the friars minor who go in front of the procession they give 14 loaves, a sheep, half a calf, etc.</p> <p>A chaplain celebrates daily at the altar of Corpus Christi. They have lately collected 2 marks for certain ornaments.</p>	—	Each brother kisses the alderman on his election, in token of brotherly love and charity.
110 L.	Exaltation of Holy Cross (Parish Church), 1339.	<p>Begun out of the devotion of the people in honour of the Exaltation. They hear mass on the feast day at the altar of the Crucifixion and offer what they please. They have a collection for the chaplain's salary. Nine candles before the altar at mass.</p>	—	—
111 L.	Invention of Holy Cross (Parish Church), 1347.	<p>The beginning of the fraternity was thus: One Roger de Wolsthorp carved an image of the Saviour on the Cross, His mother and St. John, and built an altar and a fit place for divine service. He founded a chantry in honour of Him who died on the Cross for the souls of his friends and himself, his benefactors and all the faithful departed and so rests in peace. Afterwards Ralph Brown and two others from their veneration of Christ came together, and in one week</p>	—	—

112 L.	Holy Trinity (In chapel outside the church), 1337.	On Trinity Sunday they hear mass at the church because the chapel is too small. A chaplain celebrates for the good estate of the King and Queen and of the fraternity, and for souls. . . .	—	Founded by Roger de Wolsthorp (<i>cf.</i> 111) and Wm. de London, late burgesses of Grantham.
113 L.	St. John Baptist (Parish Church), c. 1329.	They meet for mass on St. John Baptist's Day and offer what they please. A chaplain celebrates daily for the good estate of the King and Queen, Edmund, D. of York, and for souls. . . . The chaplain must assist daily in choir at matins, mass, vespers and the other hours, and provide certain lights at his own cost.	—	The goods include masers and drinking-horns for the feast. They have recently paid £7 5s. 4d. for a missal.
114 L.	St. Michael (Parish Church), 1388.	They meet for mass on St. Michael's Day and offer what they please. A chaplain celebrates for the good estate, etc. Nine candles about St. Michael's image during mass.	—	—
115 L.	St. Peter (Southgate Chapel), 1349.	Mass on St. Peter's Day and chaplain as above. Mass so that travellers passing through the town may hear it.	—	—
116 L.	Grimsby. Holy Trinity, 1341.	The gild candle to burn <i>in perpetuo</i> before the Trinity in the church of St. James and at funerals, which all attend; 1d. each in soul-alms. All attend the offering of the gild-candle on the feast day, save for reason of sickness.	—	An intending brother must be a burgess of good repute. A loving-cup at the feast. The alderman has 2 gallons of ale, the "forthyman" and the dean 1 each. Ordinances as to pledges for gild money, keeping place, speaking reasonably and bringing guests. S.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
117 L.	Holbeach. Assumption (Tilers). No date.	The tilers of the town having a devotion to the B.V.M., and desiring to honour her on behalf of their craft, have agreed to subscribe yearly towards a candle to burn before her image.	—	—
118 L.	Corpus Christi (Chapel of St. Thomas; Holbeach Fen). No date.	A chaplain celebrates yearly for the fraternity and its benefactors. Six candles perpetually in honour of the Body of Christ. The gild helps to repair and keep up the chapel. All attend mass on the feast and funerals of brothers, at which, in the name of the whole gild, living and dead, the alderman gives 1d. to any poor man who asks it, and the gild-light is burnt.	—	Entrance fees earmarked towards the repair of the chapel.
119 L.	Corpus Christi (Parish Church). No date.	Desiring to honour the Body of Christ. Chaplain celebrating daily in the church and 1 candle burning in honour of the Body of Christ, 2 torches at elevation on feast days and in the Corpus Christi procession.	—	Founded by Robt. Blakewell, Wm. de Carton, Jno. de Carton, Alexr. de Carton, Jno. de Waryn, and Wm. Tygo.
120 L.	Nativity B.V.M.. “Shepherds’ Gild.” No date.	The beginning was on this wise: Certain shepherds (named) and other shepherds and herdsmen believing that their flocks would be better cared for if they themselves made some devotion to the holy Virgin Mary, especially as they were very often obliged by their duties to absent themselves from mass, decided to find a candle to burn before the image of the Virgin in the parish church and 2 torches at the elevation on festivals.	—	—
121 L.	St. Thomas the Martyr of Canterbury (Chapel of St. Thomas). No date.	In honour of our Lord, St. Mary, all Saints, St. Thomas the Martyr, and for souls. . . . A chaplain yearly celebrating for the fraternity. Twenty-four candles at high mass on festivals and 2 torches from <i>Sanctus</i> to <i>Agnus Dei</i> . On the feast all attend mass and vespers, after which there is service for the dead and mass of requiem on the morrow, when each offers 1d. At funerals 2 torches, each brother offering 1d.	—	—

122 L.	Holy Trinity. No date.	To honour the Holy Trinity. One candle and ² torches at the elevation before the image of the Trinity daily at mass.	—	Founded by Simon Sarson (who makes the return), Simon Rogerson and Thomas de Burham.
123 L.	Holbeach Hirne. Assumption. No date.	They have a devotion to the B.V.M. and desire to do her honour. Six candles before her image in Holbeach church on all her feasts.	—	Founded by Wm. Spirwyt and others (named).
124 L.	Harlaxton. B.V.M. (Church of St. Andrews), 1358.	In honour of the B.V.M. and all Saints and to increase divine worship. A chaplain to celebrate at St. Mary's altar. All attend mass, etc., for a dead brother. The alderman to exhort the chaplain to remember on the sixth day of each week all the brethren, quick and dead, at his mass, and pour forth his prayers for them. An annual requiem for dead brethren. Each Saturday the chaplain, together with the parish priest, shall, if it please them, say an antiphon of the Virgin before her altar and <i>de profundi</i> for souls of brethren, benefactors and faithful departed.	7d. a week in acciden- tal poverty.	Ordinances re settlement of disputes. S.
125 F.	Horkstow. Holy Trinity, 1385-6.	Three tapers to burn at certain times before the Image of the Trinity. They resolved to have a chaplain when means allowed, this has now been done owing to the increase in their numbers. Brethren attend <i>dirige</i> and burial of dead.	—	—
126 L.	Hornastle. St. Barnabas and St. Lawrence. No date.	Each member shall subscribe towards a candle to burn before the cross on festivals.	—	—
127 F.		When a member dies the alderman and dean collect a $\frac{1}{4}$ d. from each brother and sister for soul-alms. The principal day to be held within a fortnight of St. Barnabas' Day, when 2 tapers shall be offered in honour of God, His sweet Mother, St. Barnabas, St. Lawrence, and all Saints, a taper before the image of each patron. All contribute to salary of a chaplain singing for souls, etc.	—	Account of ceremony and oath of admission.

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128 L.	Hultoft. Corpus Christi, 1367.	<p>Out of devotion and reverence to the Body of Christ. A large candle and 5 small ones before the high altar on Sundays and festivals. Each brother and sister bears a lighted candle in the C. C. procession and pays 1d. in offering on that day. All attend funerals, the master offering 1d. and each brother 1d. at the requiem mass, and each gives 1d. in soul-alms.</p> <p>All their goods accumulate for the use of the church, the honour of God, and the maintenance of the gild, and are spent to the uses of the church in repairs, pictures, images, etc.</p>	—	The gild feast held in the house of a brother or sister.
129 L.	Holy Cross, 1350.	<p>A great candle before the Holy Cross in the church. Requiem mass on the Sunday after Holy Cross Day. A dead brother carried in procession with the candle to the church, a special requiem mass on day of burial with offerings, as in 128.</p> <p>All goods reserved for use of the church, the honour of God, and Holy Cross.</p>	—	Bread, cheese and 30 gallons of ale at gild feast, residue to the poor.
130 L.	St. Margaret (Church of St. Margaret), 1354.	<p>A great candle with 5 lights before the image of St. Margaret. Requiem mass on the Sunday after her feast, with offerings, as in 128.</p> <p>All goods to the maintenance of the gild and the pious uses of the church.</p>	—	As in 128 and 129.
131 L.	B.V.M., 1356.	<p>Out of the greatest devotion to the blessed Mary, Mother of our Lord. A large candle with 5 smaller before the Lady altar on Sundays and festivals. Their meeting is at mass on the Sunday after the Purification. The senior gives 1d. and each brother 1d.</p>	—	Brethren take it in turn to pay for the gild feast. A brother dying without an heir and wishing to dispose of his lands and tenements for his soul, is to bequeath them to be sold for the chaplain's

APPENDIX: LINCOLNSHIRE

167

		stipend if it is insufficient. Other arrangements with regard to bequests for masses.	Ordinances re refusal to take office in the gild, entertainment of private guests at home, etc.	In 1384-5 all their Goods were given to the church, which has now been rebuilt.	If a member goes on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, each brother gives him 1d. If he goes to St. James or to St. Peter and St. Paul, all the brethren lead him or her to the Cross before the Hospital of the Innocents outside Lincoln, and when he returns meet him there and bring him to the mother church. S.
132 F.	Killingholme. B.V.M. (Church of St. Denis). Ordinances, 1310.	When a brother or sister dies four brothers give 1d. and each sister one $\frac{1}{2}$ d. loaf in soul-alms.	1d. from each brother in case of loss of cattle, or by fire or robbers.	—	S. (Very bad condition.)
133 L.	Covenham (Kovnam). St. John Baptist, 1356.	To maintain and augment divine service. When means allow they will have a priest to sing for souls, etc., unless some necessity of the church intervene. When a brother dies, each gives $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms.	(Almost illegible.) On the feast of Corpus Christi they go in solemn procession to the mother church of Lincoln, . . . the graeeman offers 20d. in the name of the gild. On the Sunday within (? the octave) of Corpus Christi they all hear a solemn mass with note, and each offers as he will. Other religious observances illegible.		
134 L.	Lincoln. Corpus Christi. No date.		In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and of His precious Body and Blood, and of the most holy Sepulchre of that most glorious body, and of the Virgin Mother Mary, and of all the Saints of God. Thirteen square candles round the Sepulchre on the day of the "Preparation," and from that day to the octave they burn on festival days at high mass; 3 round candles burning continually from the day of the Preparation to the Resurrection. A great torch for the C. C. procession. Before the procession all assemble and receive garlands of one pattern, and so make procession to the cathedral, where each offers 1d. at the high altar. The great torch is borne before the Body of Christ when being carried to the sick, also it burns at the elevation on 6 principal days. Four soul-candles, with others, burn round the		
135 L.	Corpus Christi (St. Michael-on-the-Hill), 1350.				

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
	Corpus Christi— Continued.	herse of a brother. At the funeral mass the grame-man and custos offer 1d. each from the gild fund and each brother offers as he will, and gives 1d. for bread in soul-alms. The gild banner is borne to the house of a dead brother and there displayed publicly in order to show that the deceased was a member of the gild. Thence with the great light it precedes the corpse to the church. They will have a gild priest to sing for souls when God shall have multiplied their store. Mass for living and dead brothers on the octave of Corpus Christi, bell tolling on vigil.		They have £20 in hand for a chaplain celebrating daily. The executors of a dead brother shall pay the Rector of the church for 4 candles called "katureomers," so that holy church be well served. . . . The gild will do this in case of need. The Dean of Lincoln sealed the statutes. S.
136 L.	Resurrection (Church of St. Martin), 1354.	They find annually 24 square candles and 4 mortuary candles round the Sepulchre, of which 4 square and 4 mortuary candles burn from the Burial to the Resurrection, when all are lighted in honour of the Burial and Resurrection and for the safety of our souls, living and dead. Twenty candles with the mortuary candles round the herse of a dead brother and at funeral mass, where the grame-man and 2 wardens offer 2d. of the gild-fund and each brother 1d., so that there may be as many masses as there are brethren.	Burial in need at gild's expense, food or money in poverty.	When a member makes pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Rome or St. James, he gives up the gild-property in his hands and receives 2d. from the grace-man, 1d. from the
137 L.	(i.) St. Anne (In St. Peter's Parish in the Skin Market), 1344.	They will have a beautiful wax candle burning before St. Anne's image, where there shall be one, and lights at their feast (<i>potatio</i>). If the officers have certain news that a brother has died on pilgrimage, the bell is tolled and mass said as if the dead were amongst them, and each brother pays 1d. for bread in soul-alms. Mass for founders and members,		

living and dead, on the Monday next after the last
“morn-speech.”

		2 wardens and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. from each brother and sister at the Cross on Lincoln Green, whither they conduct him and where they meet him on his return. Sealed as in 136.	S.	Ordinances for pilgrims as in (i). S.	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrims as in 137 and <i>re</i> settlement of disputes. S.	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrims as in 137 and <i>re</i> settlement of disputes. S.	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrims as in 137 and <i>re</i> settlement of disputes. S.
(ii.)	St. Sepulchre (Holy Cross Church in Wykford), ? 1376.	They will have (obliterated) square candles burning round Sepulchre as in 136. All the lights burn at <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> and mass for a dead brother. The granceman offers 1d., 2 wardens 1d. and each brother $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for bread in soul-alms. A brother dying away from the city has ceremonies as if he were present.		Burial in need at gild's expense and as in 137 (i).	Burial in need at gild's expense.	Bad condition. Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages as in 137.	Bad condition. Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages as in 137.
138	L.	St. Bavo (Parish of St. Bavo), 1362.	Illegible (Church of St. Cuthbert), 1374. Probably “Resurrection” or “Holy Sepulchre.”	A great candle before St. Bavo's image and all (bear it) annually with great joy and honour to the church. Each brother and sister shall cause to be sung once a year a private (secretam) mass or say (obliterated) <i>Ave Maria</i> for founders and sustainers of the gild.	Ordinances as to lights almost obliterated, one refers to lights from compline on Good Friday onwards. In octave of Easter a mass of resurrection on behalf of living and dead. A brother dying outside Lincoln to have same ceremonies as if present.		
139	L.			In case of need lights, offerings and burial at gild's expense.			
140	L.		(i.) St. Edmund of Pontney , 1276. Statutes 1363. (Church of All Saints.)	For the honour and reverence which they have for St. Edmund they find a beautiful candle to burn before his image, to be brought yearly by the brethren with great joy and honour.	In poverty 4 gifts of 3d. in 4 succeeding years, but this to be paid back if possible. (See 142.)	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages as in 137. Lights and gild-prayers at the feast and gifts to the poor.	

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140 L.	(ii.) St. Mary, 1363.	Founded by certain parishioners of St. Cuthbert and St. Andrew-on-the-Hill in honour of our Lord, St. Mary and all Saints, and especially in honour of St. Mary, who stands by the tomb of St. Hugh. A candle burning before St. Mary, which candle is yearly borne on the Feast of the Assumption and remains in the cathedral. Candles, etc., at burials (probably as in 142, but much rubbed).	6d. yearly for 3 years, as above. Burial in need at gild's expense.	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages as in 135. Gifts of food and drink to the poor at the gild feast; gild charter, "soulwrit"; and prayers read at certain points of the feast. S.
141 L.	St. George (Church of St. George), 1377.	A candle before St. George's image in his church; 1d. for bread in soul-alms when a brother die. Offerings and 4 soul-candles at his mass. A brother dying on a journey or away to be treated as if present.	3d. a week from a collection in cases of poverty, old age or false imprisonment.	Pilgrims to Rome or St. James are conducted by brethren to Cross before the Hospital of St. Katharine, etc. Ordinances confirmed and sealed by Dean of Lincoln. S.
142 L.	St. Lawrence, M. (Church of St. Lawrence). No date.	A candle before the cross on all festivals. When a brother dies the officials of the gild go to the corpse at <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> with soul-candles, which there burn until service is ended. Each brother offers 1d. for bread in soul-alms and the officers 2d. from the gild funds. Brethren dying away or on a journey to be treated as if present.	If a brother or sister fall into poverty and seek help from the fraternity, he shall be helped in the 1st year with 6d. So in a 2nd and 3rd year. If he cannot pay back the 18d. he shall keep his gildship in peace as any other brother or sister—but he shall get no further help until he repay.	At the first feast there are to be as many poor as there are brethren, to eat and drink good bread and ale and a dish of meat or fish. Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages. S.

		The gild must stand or charged with any offence such as theft or homicide in fairs or markets, with counsel and help, as if they were all chil- dren of the same father and mother. Help in poverty as in 142.	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages to St. Peter and St. James. S.
143 L.	St. Margaret (Church of St. Margaret), 1336.	Founded in honour of St. Margaret the Virgin on the hill, the blessed Virgin Mary and all Saints. A candle before her altar on festivals. Ceremonies for dead as in 142. Yearly mass of the Holy Spirit in requiem, founders and maintainers of the gild, with offerings of money from gild stock.	As in 142 and 143. — —
144 L.	St. Martin (Church of St. Martin). Statutes 1338.	They carry a candle in procession once a year to burn in the church on double feasts. Ceremonies for dead as in 142.	Two chaplains celebrating daily in the church for the good estate of the brothers and sisters of the old gild and for the souls of King Henry, his heirs and all the faithful departed.
145 L.	Great Gild of B.V.M. (Parish of St. Andrew in Wykford). “Before the estate of Mortmain.”	A beautiful candle burns before St. Mary's altar. Ceremonies for the dead similar to those of 142. Yearly requiem mass after the feast. Each brother and sister to say daily a <i>Pater noster</i> for the gild in honour of the B.V.M., or in default to pay for a mass for the fraternity.	Help as in 142 and also $\frac{1}{2}$ d. from each brother in sickness. Burial in need at gild's expense.
146 L.	B.V.M. (Church of St. Benedict). “The brethren do not know the beginning of the gild.”	A great candle at Feast of the Purification. Ceremonies for the dead as in 142. Yearly requiem after the feast.	Poor partake of the gild feast. Ale given to the poor. Ad. from each brother to those making pilgrimage to St. James, the Holy Land or Rome. S.
147 L.	Purification of B.V.M. (Church of St. Benedict). No date.	As in 142.	Poor fed at gild feast. Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages and settlement of disputes. “Mornspeches” held in St. Benedict's Church. S.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
148 L.	St. Nicholas (Calendared as St. Mary and St. Nicholas). No date.	Founded in honour of St. Nicholas. Mass on the day of the gild banquet and on the morrow the mass called <i>Salus Populi</i> for living and dead. When a brother dies a solemn knell is rung, and all the parish clerks give $\frac{1}{d}$. for bread in soul-alms. Once a year each priest says, or causes to be said, a mass, and each brother a psalter for souls of themselves and their founders. A brother dying away from the city to be treated as if he were present.	Burial in need at gild's expense.	Legacies to be made to the gild by brethren. Only parish clerks may hold office in the gild. All brethren, clerical or lay attend services in albs. S.
149. L.	St. Nicholas, St. Mary and All Saints (Newport Church), 1339.	Yearly procession to take the gild candle to the church to burn on Sundays and festivals before the altar of St. Nicholas. At a funeral each gives $\frac{1}{d}$. for bread in soul-alms. Three requiem masses at expense of gild. Yearly requiem for souls on St. Nicholas' Day.	As in 148.	Pilgrims to be accompanied to the Cross at St. Katharine's Hospital. Ordinances against talking beyond reason.
150 L.	Holy Cross (Archers), 1379.	Yearly procession on Feast of the Invention to the cathedral with the candle to burn before the crucifix. Each brother then offers $\frac{1}{d}$. Four soul-candles at funerals and offerings as in 142. A brother dying outside city to be treated as if he were present.	—	Only archers may hold office in the gild. S.
151 L.	St. John Evangelist (Barbers), 1369.	A candle before St. John's altar in St. Mary's monastery to burn on Sundays and festivals. They go in procession with the candle and each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. to the image of the Holy Saviour. Four soul-candles at funerals, $\frac{1}{d}$. from each brother in soul-alms.	Burial in need at gild's expense. Help in poverty to extent of 6d. per annum in three portions from each brother.	Only barbers may hold office. Masters receiving apprentices pay 2s. towards the candle. S.
152 L.	B.V.M. (Cordwainers), 1307.	They go in procession to the monastery "with Mary, Joseph, St. Blaise and two angels." Procession with candle to burn on festivals at high altar in the mother church. Funeral ceremonies as in 142. Requiem. In poverty, old age or	Burial and help as in (Bad condition.) (142). <i>Later statute.</i> In poverty, old age or	Ordinances re pilgrimages. A cordwainer working in the town who is not a gild-brother, pays 6d. to

		brate either in the church of St. Lawrence or some other church.	false imprisonment 7d. per week.	the games or to the candle. S.
153 L.	? Holy Cross (Fullers). Statutes 1297.	A candle before the cross on all occasions when there is a procession in honour of Holy Cross. Funeral ceremonies as in 142.	6d. a year for 3 years as in (142), but in the event of its not being paid back it will be deducted from the amount collected for prayers for his soul.	Pilgrims starting on a Sunday or feast-day to be accompanied by all brethren as far as Queen's Cross and to receive $\frac{1}{2}$ d. from each. Statutes re labour. S. (1297 and 1337).
154 L.	All Saints (Masons). Statutes 1313.	Founded in honour of our Lord, B.V.M. and all Saints. A gild candle burns in the church on all festivals. Funerals, ceremonies and offerings as in 142. If a brother or sister leave 2s. in value to the gild he shall have one mass yearly, if 4s. then 2 masses, etc.	—	Ordinances re pilgrimages and re detention in fairs or markets as in 143. S.
155 L.	? B.V.M. (Mercers). No date.	They meet once a year and carry on high a great candle to the mother church of St. Mary of Lincoln. The candle to stand on the south side of the high altar in honour of the B.V.M. Each then offers $\frac{1}{2}$ d. or more.	—	—
156 L.	(Minstrels and Actors). No date.	A great candle to be carried once a year to the mother church on the Tuesday after Pentecost, each offers $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	—	Burial in need at gild's expense.
157 L.	Corpus Christi (Tilers). (? St. Botolph's Church.) No date.	They find a great candle to burn at the choir gate in the cathedral on festivals. Four soul-candles round the corpse of a brother. Funeral ceremonies as in 142. Procession from St. Botolph's to the cathedral. Yearly requiem mass.	—	Ordinances re pilgrimages and craft. Gild feast on Corpus Christi Day. S.



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158 L.	Corpus Christi (Sailors), 1335.	A great candle before the monument of "St. John de Dalderby, sometime Bishop of Lincoln," (1300). Procession with candle, each offering 1d. Funeral ceremonies as in 142. Each gives 1d. in alms for bread before the feast of Corpus Christi that God may prosper them and have mercy on their souls. Yearly requiem mass on the morrow of Corpus Christi.	—	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages, keeping silence at the order of the graemian, impleading one another without leave of the gild. No clause excludes men who are not sailors. S.
159 L.	Corpus Christi (Tailors), 1328.	All go with a light in solemn Corpus Christi procession. A brother dying outside the city to be treated as if dying at home. Yearly requiem mass after the feast. Funeral ceremonies as in 142.	7d. a week in poverty and burial, in case of need, at gild's expense.	Ordinances <i>re</i> pilgrimages. Brethren compelled to bequeath fixed sums according to ability. Each to give 1d. for charity, the Dean to demand it. Craft statutes. S.
160 L.	? Exaltation of the Cross (Weavers). Statutes 1346. A charter of Henry II. recited in a charter of Ed. III., and payments of the gild from 3 Hen. II. onwards. (See Pipe Rolls.)		Burial, in case of need at gild's expense. 12d. in the year for three years to be paid back if possible as in (142).	Ordinance <i>re</i> pilgrimages. Craft statutes. S.
161 L.	(i.) Twelve Apostles , 1361.	Founded in honour of the 12 apostles. Lights in the Corpus Christi procession with 12 candles burning. Founded solely out of devotion.	—	—

(ii.) St. Swithin, 1382.	Founded out of devotion. Annually 1 candle to burn at St. Swithin's altar in the church of St. Mary of Lowth.	—	—	—
(iii.) Corpus Christi, 1326.	Every year they follow the shrine of the Body of Christ and carry 6 candles round it out of their devotion.	—	—	—
B.V.M., 1329. L.	Found to find 7 candles to burn daily at mass. A chaplain celebrates daily for souls, etc., and sings the <i>Salve Regina</i> each evening at dusk before the image of St. Mary. Each year on the Feast of Pentecost a procession with a great candle to offer the 7 candles. This candle used at funerals.	Rents to support chaplain acquired by license dated May 20, 11 Edw. III.	—	Rents to support chaplain acquired by license dated May 20, 11 Edw. III.
Holy Trinity, 1376. L.	Three candles burning on all double feasts and Sundays before the image of the Trinity in St. Mary's Chapel; at the Trinity altar a chantry in memory of Master Thomas of Lowth (Canon of Lincoln), of one chaplain singing for his soul and the souls of their benefactors. Forty candles at funerals, 1d. each is soul-alms.	Some rules re religious ceremonies nearly obliterated.	—	Some rules re religious ceremonies nearly obliterated.
Luddington. Holy Cross, 1377-8. L.	Each subscribes a certain sum to find 24 candles to burn in the church in honour of Holy Cross.	—	—	—
Osbourneby. St. Thomas of Canterbury, 1388. L.	In devotion to the glorious martyr. On all double feasts 12 torches to burn at the elevation, on Sundays 4 or 3 at the least.	—	—	—
Spalding. St. John Baptist, 1383. L.	John de Rughton painted a beautiful image in honour of St. John in 1358, and for some time he and other devout people found a light for it. In 1383 John Torard took thought as to providing a chaplain to celebrate to the praise of the saint, and it was agreed to combine to provide one. It was agreed that the keeper of the chapel and the warden should twice a year diligently inspect the missal, lights and ornaments and repair them if necessary. On the vigil of St. John, immediately after dinner, the bell-	No one to be admitted unless the gild deems him sufficiently good, pious and devoted. S.	—	—

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
	St. John Baptist— Continued.	man shall go through the town and (exhort to) pray for dead brethren and sisters; knell and offices for dead after vespers and mass of requiem on the morrow, at which all attend, so doing they would have much joy in the feast. Afterwards, in giving thanks, the chaplain shall say <i>Inter natos mulierum</i> , etc., in honour of St. John, and recite the names of the dead, with <i>De profundis</i> and prayers. Thirteen candles in the chapel. All attend funeral ceremonies; 6 candles to be carried either by poor men or boys. The bellman to announce the death as above.	Id. from each brother and sister four times a year in undeserved poverty.	As in 166. S.
167 L.	Holy Trinity, 1370.	John de Toft caused an altar to be made in the parish church in honour of the Trinity, and provided its furniture, and so a gild was formed which provided a chaplain. Other regulations as in 166. A brother failing to pay his portion "as if despising the honour of the Trinity and the safety of his own soul" shall cease to be a brother. Three candles in honour of the Trinity and 12 for the apostles.	12d. a week in undeserved poverty.	As in 166. They have a gild house. S.
168 L.	St. Mary, "Ex parte orient" Ripe de Spaldyng, 1320.	In honour of St. Mary, that her worship may be much increased. On the Feast of the Purification all attend high mass and make offering. Six new torches at the elevation on Sundays and festivals, 5 candles at feasts of the Virgin. Other regulations as in 166. The anniversary is kept on the Sunday after Easter. On the eve the bellman proclaims as in 166; prayers at feast. Funeral ceremonies and arrangements as in 166.		
169 L.	St. Mary, "In south part of the parish church," 1315.	"Wydo Petirmos," talking with certain devout people, asked if they would be willing to share in providing for a chaplain celebrating in honour of St. Mary, to which they piously agreed.	Help in poverty.	As in 166. S.

170 L.	Springthorpe. St. George. Holy Trinity. No dates.	They find a light before the crucifix in the church. As in 170.	— —	Once a year they have a feast (potaeio).
171 L.			— —	License to acquire tenements 24 Edw. III.
172 L.	Stamford. Corpus Christi (Church of St. Mary at the Bridge). Founded of old time.	They find a chaplain to celebrate daily at dawn in honour of the Body of Christ. Yearly procession on the feast with the Body of Christ and lights, with great reverence and honour.	— —	Certain devout men long before the Statute of Mortmain gave certain rents. By a custom, origin forgotten, the brethren have a bull which is "baited," and sold for the profit of the fraternity.
173 L.	St. Martin (Church of St. Martin). Founded of old time.	They have a chaplain celebrating in honour of St. Martin and for souls, etc., and a light. On St. Martin's Day they assemble for their feast and have prayers for the gild and its benefactors.	— —	The mass and the gild shall never be removed outside the parish of St. Mary at Bridge. S.
174 L.	Assumption B.V.M. (St. Mary at Bridge), 1210.	Their chaplain says the mass of the Virgin daily at 6 o'clock at the high altar. They have charters remunerations granted "to God and St. Mary for maintaining her mass daily and the fabric of the bridge," etc.	— —	Gild feast at the Rectory on Corpus Christi Day.
175 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of Holy Trinity), 1365.	Certain poor men, noting the poverty of the Rector to be such that the church in its feeble state scarcely provided for his maintenance, decided at their own charges to found a fraternity in augmentation of divine worship. Each one gives as he pleases of his goods towards the Rector's maintenance, and 16 candles before the Trinity. They meet and make their offerings on Trinity Sunday. After the feast they reckon up their goods and pay what seems good towards his maintenance, and the rest goes to the light.	— —	

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176 L.	Suterton. St. Mary, c. 1349.	In honour of St. Mary out of the devotion of certain men. A chaplain celebrating daily for souls, thirteen candles on each principal feast and at funeral ceremonies, offerings in soul-alms at will.	—	One feast at the Festival of the Purification.
177 L.	St. Mary, c. 1349.	Thirteen candles on each principal feast. Funerals as in 176.	—	One feast at Michaelmas.
178 L.	Swineshead. All Saints, 1374.	A chaplain celebrating for souls . . . 12 candles in honour of all Saints on major double feasts, and at funerals.	—	—
179 L.	B.V.M., 1368.	A chaplain celebrating at St. Mary's altar for good estate, etc.; 12 candles on major double feasts in honour of the B.V.M. All brethren attend funerals if possible, and the candles are lighted.	—	The alderman collects the chaplain's salary. They have all the ornaments which belong to the chapel and a cottage in which the chaplain dwells.
180 L.	Whapdole. St. Katharine. No date.	In honour of Mary, the mother of God, St. Katharine and St. Margaret. There was a monk who caused a chapel to be built and had a chaplain to celebrate for his soul and the souls of the benefactors of the chapel. After his death certain men continued the salary of the chaplain in honour of God and St. Katharine and for the safety of their souls.	—	—
181 L.	(i.) B.V.M. (Chapel of St. John Baptist), 1366.	In honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A priest celebrating for good estate, etc. All attend funeral ceremonies and offer 1d. On the Feast of the Conception they all come to the chapel and offer a great "Judas" candle to burn before the image of the B.V.M.	—	—
	(ii.) St. John Baptist (Chapel of St. John Baptist), 1372.	In honour of God and St. John Baptist certain men (named) find a candle before the image of St. John. On St. John's feast they bring the candle to the image and there offer it in his honour.	—	—

				Number limited to 12 plus the chaplain elected by them. On the death of a brother his next of kin to take his place if he can and will.
182 L.	Wigtoft, Assumption B.V.M., 1345.	In honour of the Assumption. They bind themselves to find a chaplain to celebrate divine service in honour of the B.V.M., the chaplain to be their 13th brother. The gild will defray no expenses in connection with funerals either before or at the burial. These must be met out of the property of the deceased. On the morrow of the burial the brethren assemble at the church and a requiem mass is said with two lights, the mayor offering 1d. and each brother ½d. Each also gives 1d. in soul- alms.		
183 L.	Winthorpe, St. Katharine, 1359.	Begun out of devotion and in honour of St. Katharine and all Saints. Mass of the day on the Feast of St. Katharine, each offering as he will. Candles before the image. When they can they will have a chaplain to celebrate for the gild. A light at the funeral ceremonies for a dead brother.		Partly torn away.
184 L.	(i.) St. Mary (Church of St. Mary), 1365. (ii.) St. James, 1361. (iii.) Holy Trinity, 1367. (iv.) Gild of the Chapel of St. Mary, Burgh, 1359.	Out of the devotion of the parishioners. All attend mass on Feast of the Purification and each offers 1d. They find 4 lights to burn (* before the image of) Mary in the church. <i>Mutatis mutandis</i> as in (i.).		Partly torn away. Each brother may bring a poor person to the gild feast. — Out of the devotion of the parishioners in honour of the Holy Trinity. Solemn mass on Feast of the Trinity and on each day of the following week, and in the subsequent week a daily mass of the most blessed Mary. Three lights.
				Out of the devotion of the parishioners of St. Mary in the Chapel of Burgh, which chapel was ruinous until Walter Wybian and another collected alms to repair it from among the parishioners. Many were thus moved to help, and so they came together for the purpose of maintaining and repairing the chapel.

<i>Certificate No. and Language.</i>	<i>Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.</i>	<i>Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.</i>	<i>Friendly Benefits to Members, if any</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
185 L. .	Yarborough. Corpus Christi, 1358.	To maintain and augment divine service in a laudable fashion. When funds permit they will have a chaplain celebrating daily for souls, etc. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms at funeral of a brother.	—	This assembly is called a gild by neighbouring people.
186 L.	St. Peter, 1362.	As in 185.	—	—
187 L.	LONDON. See also No. 463 <i>et seq.</i> Annunciation B.V.M. (Chapel of St. Mary in the Church of St. Paul). No date.	LONDON. See also No. 463 <i>et seq.</i> Annunciation B.V.M. (Chapel of St. Mary in the Church of St. Paul). No date.	—	A slip of parchment only. Attached membrane missing.
188. F.	Assumption (House of the Friars Preachers), 1375.	They attend high mass at the House on the Feast of the Assumption. Five lights before the high altar throughout the year. If a brother die within London or its suburbs, each brother attends <i>dirige</i> and mass in his hood, and offers 1d.	Payment for funeral service out of the common box to the Friars Preachers.	Each brother must be of good conversation and fame and chosen by the assent of the whole fraternity. In case of dispute the plaintiff to bring his case before the masters. If they fail to settle it he must go to two or four others of the fraternity. If they cannot bring about an agreement he may go to Common Law. A brother a year and a half in arrear with his payments to be put out of the fraternity. S

<p>Conception B.V.M. (Church of the Carmelites), 1365.</p>	<p>Out of the devotion of certain poor men in honour of the Conception of St. Mary and all Saints. All attend mass on the Feast of the Conception and find 10 candles to burn on festivals before the image. They pay the Carmelites 10s. a year for celebrating for souls, etc. Thirty masses for a dead brother at expense of the gild.</p>	<p>Each brother and sister pays 3d. quarterly to the common box. In infirmity or detention in prison or other adversity 7d. a week from the box. At death if a brother's goods do not suffice he shall have burial at gild's expense.</p>	<p>Ordinance <i>re</i> settlement of disputes. S.</p>	
<p>Holy Cross, (St. Lawrence Jewry), 1370.</p>	<p>From reverence to and in honour of the crucifixion of our Lord and His Holy Cross. Five candles yearly in honour, etc. All attend mass on the Feast of the Exaltation, and offer 1d. All attend funeral ceremonies and offer at 4 masses at the least. Each pays 4d. quarterly to the common box to maintain the lights. A chaplain celebrates on Sundays for the good estate, etc. Thirty masses for the dead out of gild funds. On admission, a new brother or sister gives 30d., which is spent on masses for a dead brother.</p>	<p>14d. a week in infirmity by reason of mutilation of limbs or old age, etc., but the brother helped must have paid his quarterage for 7 years. Burial in need at the gild's expense.</p>	<p>6s. 8d. entrance fee, brethren to be of good fame, to love God and Holy Church and their neighbours. Ordinance <i>re</i> settlement of disputes. Free gifts should be made to the gild where possible. S.</p>	
<p>(St. James) (St. James Garlickhithe), 1375.</p>	<p>Founded by good men for amendment of their lives and souls, and to nourish more love between the brothers and sisters, in worship of Almighty God, St. Mary, All Hallows, and St. James, Apostle. At the death all attend <i>placeto, dirige</i> and mass and make offering.</p>	<p>14d. a week in sickness or age to a brother who is qualified as in 130.</p>		
<p>St. Anne (Church of St. Owen, Newgate). Statutes temp. John.</p>	<p>Seven candles before St. Anne's image on all solemn days when the light burns before the crucifix. Offering of 1d. at mass of St. Anne; 4 torches and 2 round candles at funerals, and mass. A chaplain celebrates for souls.</p>	<p>7d. a week in unmerited poverty to brethren of 7 years standing.</p>		
<p>189 L.</p>				
<p>190 L.</p>				
<p>191 E.</p>				
<p>192 L.</p>				

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
193 F.	St. Austin (Watling Street, next St. Paul's Gate), 1387.	Brethren attend vespers, mattins and high mass of St. Austin, and offer 1d. Five tapers before the image and at funerals 2 torches in addition. All attend funeral ceremonies and offer 1d. and the same if a brother dies out of the city as if he were present. Trental of St. Gregory for the dead at gild's expense. They will have a chaplain when they can.	14d. a week as in 192.	Ordinance <i>re</i> settlement of disputes.
194 L.	Chantry in St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. No date.	Tenements bequeathed by Thomas Snodiland, late parson of the church, to find a chaplain to celebrate for souls of himself and others, and for the good estate of the brethren of the fraternity of the chapel.	—	Pardon for alienation without license 1371-2, for which the wardens of the church fabric paid £30.
195 L.	St. Bridget (St. Bridget, Fleet St.), 1375.	In 1375 certain parishioners agreed to find a light before St. Bridget's image at vespers, mattins and high mass on double feasts, each giving 4d. quarterly. Later on divers persons both from the Parish and other parishes desiring to augment divine worship, agreed to pay for a chaplain to celebrate before the image, to support 2 lights and have a solemn procession on the Feast of the Translation. Two torches round the corpse of a brother. They have no other obligations, are not under any oath, and can resign if they desire. They have hoods at St. Bridget's Translation, but theirs is no malicious gathering. They have nothing in their box nor any rents from lands or houses. Some of the persons mentioned above are dead, others gone away, and the rest, since they heard of the decision of the last parliament, have refused to pay anything towards keeping the promises made.	—	They are called the fraternity of St. Bridge, though they are really no fraternity as clearly appears by what follows. (See under Purpose.)

See pp. 69, 70.

S.

For full account, see pp. 66 *et seq.*

196 E.	St. Fabian and St. Sebastian (St. Botolph, Alders- gate), No date.	All attend full funeral ceremonies and offer for the dead and for souls of all benefactors of the house and hospital of St. Anthony. A trental of masses for dead, month's mind of 10 masses and year's mind of 5 masses. Each offers at month's end year's minds as on day of burial. The corpse must be brought from 10 miles off if necessary. A chaplain to sing for souls, etc.	30 masses and 5 tapers for a brother dying in poverty. 14d. weekly in old age or poverty.	Ordinance re settlement of disputes. They meet to make their ordinances in the church. S.
197 L.	St. Katharine (Church of St. Anthony). No date.	All attend mass on St. Katharine's Day. Brethren attend funeral ceremonies and offer at mass. Five round tapers weighing 20 lbs. to burn on high feasts in worship of God, His mother maiden Mary and St. Katharine, two of which burn at high mass on Sundays and simple feasts. Trental of masses for the dead.	14d. a week in un- merited poverty, old age, loss by fire or water. Burial in need at the gild's expense, with lights.	Brethren may borrow from the gild stock on giving surety.
198 E.	St. Katharine (St. Botolph). No date.	Geoffrey Wynchcombe and another, observing that the church was too small to contain the parishioners built on a chapel to the south side in honour of God, the B.V.M. and St. Katharine. Then with 9 others they began a company or fraternity to find 5 torches burning in the chapel for the King, Queen and the fraternity living and dead. All attend <i>placebo</i> , <i>driuge</i> and mass for the dead.	In poverty by God's will weekly help, more or less accord- ing to the amount brought in by the sale of corn.	The wives of officers of the gild admitted <i>ipso facto</i> to sisterhood. If their husbands die they pay quarterages as their hus- bands did. S.
199 F.	St. Katharine (St. Mary, Cole- church), 1338.	Begun in order to have (divine) service in the said chapel in honour of God, the B.V.M., and St. Katharine, for the good estate of souls, etc. They kept a candle burning in the chapel up to the year 36 Edw. III., by which time the devotion of themselves and others had so increased that they decided to have a chaplain celebrating for good estate, etc.	Burial with full cere- monies, lights, offer- ings, and 4 masses, in case of need, at gild's expense; 10d. a week in poverty, sickness, etc., if the brother has paid quarterages duly.	Goods: a missal, vestment and cup. S.
200 L.	St. Katharine (St. Paul's), // 1352.			

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
201 L.	(St. Katharine) ? (St. Sepulchre without Newgate). No date.	Out of the devotion of certain poor men in honour of the Conception of the B.V.M., on which feast they have mass and offer and find a chaplain to celebrate for souls, etc. Thirty masses for the dead. Certain lights before the image on all festivals.	—	The title "St. Katharine" has been inserted; the gild seems to be a gild of the Conception, B.V.M.
202 F.	St. Mary of Bethlehem, 1361.	In honour of Jesus Christ and His sweet mother our Lady of Bethlehem . . . in which place the star appeared to shew light to the three Kings of Cologne, a fraternity was begun in amendment of life. On a death all attend in their hoods and offer at 4 masses. They have a chaplain.	16d. per week in accidental poverty on condition of prayers for living and dead. Burial at gild's expense if necessary, at the hospital if desired or elsewhere.	Each is bound by oath to bequeath what he can to the fraternity to which none but those of good fame are admitted. Admission 20s., yearly 2s. Ordinances <i>re</i> settlement of disputes and against "false work to deceive the common folk," for which the penalty is expulsion. Also against games of chance. S.
203 L.	St. Mary (Church of St. Bridget). "Time without memory."	Certain parishioners made provision for (a light) before the Virgin's image. Later, when a chapel was built and many of the founders were dead, the survivors made ordinances for the maintenance of the chaplain and light. These and other devout purposes were suspended by the great plague, but renewed later by survivors and parishioners of other parishes.	—	The return is made by the wardens of the light of the fraternity which indeed is no fraternity. (cf. 195).
204 F.	Our Lady (St. Dunstan by the Tower). No date.	For devotion to our Lady and the good of the people. A chaplain to sing daily mass and the provision of certain lights and altar ornaments for our Lady.	—	Earliest deed of feoffment quoted is dated 2 Ric. II.

<p>205 F.</p> <p>Our Lady and St. Giles (St. Giles, Cripplegate), 1339.</p> <p>George Clerk, citizen of London, seeing the church was too small for the people, built on a new chapel in the south aisle to our Lady. Master Piers de Berk-hampsteade, Vior, and others (named), seeing the light was too small (built) a beam with 31 candles in honour of our Lady and St. Giles, and got several good people to pay 1d. weekly. Each to have on the day of his burial 30 masses to be sung by the Carmelite Friars in Fleet Street.</p>	<p>10<i>ld.</i> a week in accidental poverty, but if found begging in another parish to lose thisalms. Burial if necessary.</p> <p>The chaplain to be chosen by the vicar (if a brother), the 2 wardens, and 12 of the better brethren.</p> <p>S.</p>	<p>The lights were much increased when a new aisle was added to the church. Much has lately been expended on the roof which was in ruins.</p> <p>Every brother to bequeath to the fraternity. Masters choose and provide the cloth for the liveries yearly.</p>
<p>206 F.</p> <p>B.V.M. ? All Saints (All Hallows, London Wall), 1342.</p>	<p>In honour of God, His sweet Mother and all Saints, and for souls. A candle to burn in the church on All Saints' Day. Later a chaplain and 5 lights provided. All attend mass on the morrow of All Saints and offer 1<i>d.</i> All attend funerals in the livery of the fraternity. Every brother or his wife to have 30 masses within a week of death. The fraternity attends St. Owen's Church yearly for the <i>dirige</i> of John Enefeld, who made it large bequests. The persons of All Saints and St. Owen's are honorary brethren at the feast.</p>	<p>14<i>ld.</i> a week in poverty or misfortune to a brother of 7 years standing. Fraternity aid at common law, the enforcement of articles of apprenticeship between masters and children of brothers.</p>
<p>207 L.</p> <p>St. Stephen (St. Sepulchre without Newgate), 1376.</p>	<p>In honour of Jesus Christ . . . 30 others have founded a gild. They have a chaplain to sing continually for the gild before St. Stephen's image. All attend mass on St. Stephen's Day and offer 1<i>d.</i> Five candles at the mass for a dead brother and 3 trentals of masses, one by the Friars Minors, one by the Augustine Friars, and the third by the Carmelites. All attend the <i>dirige</i> and mass, and offer 1<i>d.</i></p>	<p>Richard Barnes and 30 others have founded a gild. They have a chaplain to sing continually for the gild before St. Stephen's image. All attend mass on St. Stephen's Day and offer 1<i>d.</i> Five candles at the mass for a dead brother and 3 trentals of masses, one by the Friars Minors, one by the Augustine Friars, and the third by the Carmelites. All attend the <i>dirige</i> and mass, and offer 1<i>d.</i></p>

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
208 F.	(i.) Salutation of our Lady (Church of St. Magnus), 1343. Afterwards united with	Rauf Capelyn (and others named), out of great devotion to God and our Lady, caused the "anthem <i>Salve Regina</i> ," to be sung and lights to burn at the time in honour of the 5 principal joys of our Lady. They were joined by others, and afterwards found a chaplain to sing for all benefactors. They joined with the fraternity of St. Thomas to rebuild the church.	In poverty 14d. a week and a vesture.	—
	(ii.) St. Thomas the Martyr (Chapel on London Bridge). Parishioners of St. Magnus.	Formerly there was a fraternity of St. Thomas in the chapel on London Bridge of St. Magnus' parishioners, because the church was too small for the people. The good people of the country joined with the fraternity of St. Thomas, and of their united funds they commenced to rebuild the church. The antiphon of St. Thomas to be sung at vespers after the <i>Salve Regina</i> .	—	—
209 F.	All Souls (Cemetery of St. Paul's), 1379.	(a) The brethren of the fraternity humbly represent that when it was first begun they found the chapel at the charnel-house in the cemetery of St. Paul's in a ruinous condition, its windows were broken and the altar so foul that none of the chaplains or chantries there could sing for the souls of their founders. The Archbishop of Canterbury denounced this condition of things in a sermon at Paul's Cross and promised a pardon to all who should help to remedy it. So the fraternity was formed, a chaplain appointed, the chapel set in order and ornaments etc. provided. The chantry priests were retained and assist generally, so that 3 or 4 masses are sung daily. (b) <i>Placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> and other prayers for the dead on the Vigil of All Souls. All the fraternity attend this and mass at 7 a.m. on the feast to which they	—	They pray for consideration of their origin and purpose and that for the love of God, etc., they may not be disturbed. S.

210 L.	Holy Trinity (St. Botolph without Aldersgate), 1374.	For full account, see pp. 66 <i>et seq.</i>	—	—
211 F.	(Whittawyers). (All Hallows, London Wall), “Formerly.”	Five tapers on festivals. The brethren attend and offer 1d. on the Sunday after All Saints’ Day. Brethren and sisters attend <i>dirige</i> and 4 masses for a dead brother, and offer 1d. at each. All, rich and poor, have a trental of masses at guild’s expense. Five tapers and 4 torches round the dead.	—	No craft statutes. S.
212 F.	St. Mary Roncevalles (Westminster: Chapel of St. M. R.), ? 1385. (The century has been obliterated.)	Founded chiefly to celebrate the Feast of the Nativity of the B. V. M. in her chapel at Rounsyval by Charing (Cross). They have no assemblies or quarrels but exist solely for devotion and prayer in honour of, etc., and for the safety of souls. They offer on the Feast of the Nativity and keep a light to burn at the daily mass. They attend funerals. See pp. 92 <i>et seq.</i>	—	S.
213 E.	Holy Trinity (Coleman Street), 1384.	Begun of love and charity and to help them of the brotherhood that fall in poverty by God’s will, and to do other deeds of charity. A light before the image of the Trinity. All attend high mass and offer on Trinity Sunday. The two wardens to pay the priest when they have one.	6½d. a week and a hood yearly in accidental poverty on condition of prayer for quick and dead.	Four tapers at burial of any poor man or woman in the parish. S.
214 F.	(Barbers). “Time without memory.”	To have a livery, pay their quarterage, assist poor brethren, have a feast and elect officers—so that all be done to the glory of God. All attend <i>dirige</i> and mass, and month’s mind for a dead brother, who shall have 30 masses.	In honour of God, etc., and to excite men’s hearts to good deeds, 10½d. a week is given to a brother of 7 years’ standing if he fall into unmerited poverty.	Craft statutes. S.

THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
215 F.	(Cutlers), 1370.	They have commenced a fraternity among them to maintain 2 tapers to burn in honour of our Lady in the church of the Annunciation called the Charterhouse by Smithfield. On the Feast of the Annunciation they assemble for mass and each offers 1d. Out of the balance which remains after provision of the tapers the two (wardens) shall cause 4 torches and 5 tapers to be made for use at the funerals of brothers and sisters, and at 5 masses after. The fraternity attend all in their livery and offer at the 5 masses.	If any come to hurt through storm at sea, fire, robbery or other misfortune by the will of God, he shall have 10d. a week payable at the end of each month while the hurt lasts.	Craft statutes. None must slander the company. All must be of good repute who would enter. No disputes or quarrels must occur, etc. S.
216 F.	St. Katharine (Church of St. Katharine-by-the-Tower), “begin the year 37.”	In honour of God and St. Katharine, for the salvation of the realm, the souls of the King and Queen, and all Christians. All attend in livery at <i>placebo</i> , <i>dirige</i> and mass for a dead brother or sister. Members shall endeavour to procure fitting people to become brothers and sisters so that the fraternity may increase and they may thus have a chaplain to sing, etc. A light of 7 candles at mass and mattins in the chapel.	14d. a week in poverty, etc., to a brother of 7 years' standing.	Ordinance <i>re bequests</i> . S.
217 F.	(The little company of glovers.) Statutes 1354.	Begun in honour of our Lord, His sweet Mother and All Saints of Paradise to maintain a light in the Lady Chapel at Comon ... inter (torn) by West Smithfield, and to give alms for their souls. All attend <i>dirige</i> and offer at 3 masses for the soul of a dead brother.	10½d. a week in poverty through storm at sea, robbery, fire, blindness, etc. Burial in need at gild's expense.	No craft statutes. Members to bequeath money to the fraternity. S.
218 L.	NORFOLK. Banham. St. John Baptist, 1360.	All attend vespers on the Vigil of St. John's Nativity, and each shall say a psalter of the Virgin for the good estate, etc. . . . The alderman offers 1d. at the mass and each brother ½d. and ¼d. in soul-alms. All attend funerals and say a psalter as above. Offerings as above. A light.	—	Some bequests of tenements to find ornaments for St. John's altar, the residue to be distributed at need among poor brothers and sisters.

219 L.	Holy Trinity, 1362.	Mutatis mutandis as in 218, 3 candles before the image of the Trinity.						[As in 218.]
220 L.	Barton Bendish. All Saints (All Saints' Church), 1385-6.	They find a certain light to burn in the church in honour of all Saints.						—
221 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. Andrew). No date.	Yearly a candle in honour of St. John Baptist on festival days.						On the feast of St. John's Nativity they distribute to the poor 2 bushels of wheat, a quarter of barley, etc.
222 L.	Beachamwell. All Saints (All Saints' Church). No date.	Yearly a candle.						—
223 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. John Baptist). No date.	One candle yearly, and a torch at the elevation.						—
224 L.	St. Margaret (Church of St. Mary). “Time without memory.”	A candle and torch as in 223. All the brethren and sisters offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the church where the gild-mass is sung, or else they send someone else to offer; all attend vespers on the eve if possible. If a brother or sister die within 5 miles each shall offer or send to offer a loaf in soul-alms.						—
225 L.	St. Peter (?) (Church of St. Mary), 1378-9.	One candle yearly and a torch at the elevation. All offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the church where the mass of the “said apostles” is sung, and attend vespers on the eve if possible.						—
226 L.	St. Peter and St. Paul (Church of St. Mary). No date.	Candle, torch, offerings and attendance as in 224. If a brother or sister die . . . as in 224. Each causes a mass to be celebrated for the dead within 15 days. The bedeman to announce the death through the town and bid prayer. A year's mind.						—

<i>Certificate No. and Language.</i>	<i>Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.</i>	<i>Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.</i>	<i>Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
227. L.	Buxton. All Saints (Parish Church), 1384-5.	Begun in honour of the B.V.M. and all Saints. First and chiefly to provide certain lights and when it shall be necessary they will help to the repair of the church, on which, save 4 quarters of barley, they have already spent all their goods.	—	—
228 L.	Clenchwarton. Jesus Christ, Holy Ghost and St. Margaret, 1378.	On St. Margaret's feast all shall come with 4 great torches burning to the parish church and devoutly hear mass, and each shall offer $\frac{1}{d}$. The said torches to be taken to where a dead brother lies and be carried with him to the church. Each shall offer $\frac{1}{d}$. (at the funeral mass) and $\frac{1}{d}$. for bread in soul-alms. Immediately after the burial the warden shall cause 30 masses to be said for the soul of the deceased and all gild-benefactors. One torch to burn at divine service before St. Margaret's image.	—	—
229 L.	Ernest. B.V.M., 1387.	To maintain a light in the parish church before St. Mary's image on the feast of her Assumption.	—	—
230 L.	St. Mary and St. Katharine, 1387.	To maintain a light in the parish church before St. Katharine's image on her feast.	—	—
231 L.	Finham. Assumption, 1386.	In honour of the B.V.M. and all Saints, and for the souls of brothers and sisters and of all the faithful departed, and to help the fabric of the church.	—	—
232 L.	St. Anthony (Church of St. Michael), 1375.	Out of devotion and in honour of St. Anthony, at whose altar they have a mass on St. Anthony's Day, and each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. Three candles before his image. At a death each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. and gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms.	—	—

233 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. Martin), 1379.	Out of the devotion of the parishioners, in honour of St. John Baptist. On the Feast of St. John they have a festal mass at his altar and each offers 1d. One candle before his image throughout the year. At a death (as in 232). 2s. 5d. to be spent in masses for the deceased.	Vicar is governor of the gild. Brethren enjoined to make bequests to the gild. Bondmen excluded from membership.	
234 L.	Heacham. St. Thomas the Martyr, 1359	From the devotion which they have to St. Thomas the Martyr. Eight standards with candles twice in the year to burn at vespers and mass before the image and altar of St. Thomas, on the Feast of the Translation, and on his birthday, and one hanging light of 7 candles to burn on festivals. Any brother living within 5 miles must come on the Feast of the Translation to an appointed place, and go with the lights to the church and hear mass and offer 1d. All attend first and second vespers of St. Thomas and requiem mass on the morrow, with offering of 1d. All attend <i>placebo</i> , etc. for a brother dying within 5 miles; the corpse is carried with lights to the church and at the mass each offers 1d., and soul-alms are given at the gild's expense. Services in full for those dying outside 5 miles. On St. Thomas's Nativity a requiem mass with offerings. The chaplain to wear a habit of linen and wool and other ornaments.	All entering shall swear over a certain candle to be faithful to the fraternity.	(Torn), a white mantle with the cross of the fraternity in the first year of reception into the brotherhood. (Defective.)
235 L.	Holme. St. James. "Time without memory."	From the devotion of certain men in honour of St. James. Mass with voluntary offerings on the feast and candles before the image on festivals. Each offers 1d. at a funeral mass and gives 1d. for a mass for the deceased's soul on the same day.	Help in distress.	Fragments seem to imply a close connection be-
236 F.	Ingham. Holy Trinity, 1370.	All (attend) first vespers and matins (of Feast of the Trinity) and the procession on the feast wherein is carried the "flower" to be offered at the high mass. If he who ought to carry the "flower" be dead or away the subprior to carry it. The "flower" is to be a jewel of price and value according to the will and devotion of those who give it. This "flower" and all "flowers" that have been or shall be devised,		

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	Holy Trinity — <i>Continued.</i>	shall not be removed or changed without the consent of the prior and convent and of the whole fraternity. Masses and ceremonies for the dead (torn).		tween the Prior and Convent and the fraternity. The fraternity is admitted into the full benefit of the Convent's masses, almsdeeds, etc., in consideration of their devotion and aims.
237 L.	Lynn. Annunciation (Chapel of St. Nicholas). No date.	In honour of our Lord, the B.V.M. and all Saints, that out of the common funds 7 candles may be maintained to the praise of God and the B.V.M. All hear mass on the Feast of the Assumption and offer 1d. All attend funeral ceremonies and offer 1d. Forty masses to be celebrated for the soul of the deceased. Mass and offerings as above for a brother dying out of Lynn.	Burial in need at gild's expense.	—
238 L.	Ascension. “ Time without memory.”	In reverence to God and praise of the Ascension. All assemble and offer at high mass on the Ascension. They find lights and a chaplain to sing for the King . . . and for souls. All attend funeral mass and offer 1d. Forty masses for a dead brother.	Help in need.	Alderman has 2 gallons of ale daily and 2d. from the entrance fee of every brother. The dean has 2s. yearly, 1 gallon of ale daily and 1d. from each entrance fee. The clerk as the dean. The steward 2 gallons of ale.
239 L.	Ascension (Coifmakers). No date.	Brethren attend funeral ceremonies and offer for the soul. Thirty masses within a week of death for a dead brother. (Other statutes re almsgiving partly obliterated.)	—	No craft statutes. One of the four feasts kept is that of Wynwaloe (Abbot).

				Regulations <i>re</i> feasts. S.
240 E.	Conception B.V.M. (Church of St. Margaret). No date.	The brethren pay 1d. each quarterly to find a light in the church before the Lady altar on festivals. The dean to bring the candles to the <i>dirge</i> for a dead brother and each brother offers $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Each is bound to stay till the end of the funeral mass and the burial.		
241 E.	Exaltation of Holy Cross. 1368. (Shipman's Gild.)	The gild-candles to be brought to the <i>dirge</i> for a dead brother and the brethren attend and offer 2d. at mass. If a brother die out of the town the bellman shall bid prayers for his soul. 40d. in masses for the dead. Liveries of hoods to be worn at funerals.	Help in poverty from the goods of the gild.	Help in poverty from the goods of the gild. S.
242 E.	Holy Cross. No date.	Thirty masses for a dead brother. A light to burn be- fore the Holy Cross and St. Helen. All attend funerals.	A gallon of ale to a brother sick or going on pilgrimage.	As in 240 and 241. S.
243 E.	Purification B.V.M. No date.	Gild-candles as in 240, offering for the dead 4d. each. Forty masses for a dead brother.	In "mischief" 4d. a year from each bro- ther and sister while necessary.	S.
244 E.	All Saints and Purification B.V.M. (Church of St. James), 1367.	Gild-candles as in 240, offering for the dead 4d. Thirteen masses for a dead brother. Each brother or sister pays 3d. yearly for a candle on holy days before the Lady altar.	—	As in 240 and 241. S.
245 E.	Purification B.V.M. No date.	Twelve masses for a dead brother. Gild candles as in 240, offering for the dead $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-aims.	4d. a year from each brother and sister to one in poverty.	S.
246 E.	St. Anthony (Church of St. Margaret).	To find a candle of 1 lb. weight to burn before St. Anthony's image on festivals. All attend mass and offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on the Sunday after the Feast of St. Anthony. Twenty masses to be sung for a dead brother. Gild- candles and offering as in 240.	Id. a year from each brother and sister in loss or sickness "thorow the grace of God."	S.
247 E.	St. Edmund.	Candles and offerings as in 245. Fifteen masses for a dead brother.	—	As in 240 and 241. S.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
248 E.	St. George (Church of St. Margaret), 1376.	Begun with this intent: To find a priest to sing at St. George's altar in the worship of God and the holy martyr, and for all the brothers and sisters. Five candles on festivals and 4 tapers on St. George's Day, and at funerals, which all attend. Funeral services even though a brother die outside the town. Sixty masses for a dead brother by the gild-priest. A general mass and mass of requiem yearly.	All who can pay $\frac{1}{d}$. to a brother in poverty.	Ordinances re feasts, wearing of livery, etc. S.
249 L.	St. Giles (Church of St. James). Just begun.	In honour of God, the blessed Abbot Giles and all the saints of God. A candle at mattins, mass and vespers on festivals. All hear mass and offer on St. Giles' Day. Four candles at funerals, each brother offering $\frac{1}{d}$. Forty masses for the dead.	3d. a year in poverty from each brother.	—
250 L.	St. Giles and St. Julian (Church of St. James). Newly begun.	Brothers and sisters attend all funerals of brethren dying within 10 miles of the town. A brother dying within the town light the grid-light at services and mass, and 30 masses. Each brother offers $\frac{1}{d}$. One candle burning continually at divine service.	Relief in poverty.	—
251 L.	St. James (Chapel of St. James). "A long time before the great pestilence."	A light before St. James's image on festivals. All assemble and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. at a solemn mass on St. James's Day. All offer $\frac{1}{d}$. at mass for a dead brother, for whom 30 masses are said.	Each contributes 4d. towards the light and for 2 torches at burial of poor brethren.	The larger part of the brethren died in the great pestilence, but afterwards others entered.
252 E.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. James), 1372.	Gild-candles at a funeral. All attend funeral mass and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. A dead brother to have 10 masses. A candle before St. John's image on Sundays and festivals during divine service.	—	—
253 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. Margaret).	St. Matthew records the saying of our Lord, <i>Seek ye first the kingdom of God</i> , so they have a priest singing for souls and for the good estate, etc., as long as their goods suffice. Forty masses for a dead brother	—	The Apostle Paul says that whether one eats or drinks or does anything else, it is to be done to

<p>(Clerk's Gild.) Statutes, 1369.</p> <p>so that his soul may be the more quickly released from the punishments of purgatory by the virtue of the offering of that sacrament. All attend funerals and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. at the mass. All assemble for mass on St. John's Day . . . (defective).</p>	<p>the glory of God. It was with this in mind that the gild was begun. No one to consider his offering at a funeral burdensome, for he must bear in mind the amount of the annual expenses, and more especially that his money would be uselessly expended otherwise than on the perfecting of his body and soul. Moreover, he must especially remember the virtue of the Sacrament and that his treasure should be in heaven where neither rust nor moth . . . S.</p>	
<p>254 L.</p> <p>Beheading of St. John Baptist (Church of St. Margaret), 1361.</p>	<p>Gild-candles at the funeral services of brethren. Each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. at a funeral mass and 24 masses are said for the soul. A candle before St. John's image.</p>	<p>Reasonable help in poverty. They were afterwards joined by young merchants of other towns. S.</p>
<p>255 L.</p> <p>Nativity of St. John Baptist (Church of St. Margaret) (Young Merchants), 1362.</p>	<p>Begun by young merchants in view of the need of repairing pairs to the north side of the church. If it shall please the King they will make a chapel joined to the church and have a chaplain celebrating daily for the good estate, etc., and for souls. Four torches at the elevation as well as at funeral ceremonies. All attend matins and the gild-mass and offer on St. John's Day. Sixty masses for a dead brother.</p>	<p>Help in poverty (obliterated).</p>
<p>256 E.</p> <p>Nativity of St. John Baptist. No date.</p>	<p>Gild-candles at funeral services of a brother. Each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. and gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-aims. Twelve masses for the dead.</p>	<p>S.</p>

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
257 E.	Nativity of St. John Baptist, 1310.	Solemn prayers at the gild-feast. All accompany a dead brother to the church and give $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms. The gild-candle to be there. Thirty masses for a dead brother. Gild-mass and offering on St. John's Day, and a requiem mass and offering (on the morrow).	Help in poverty.	(Defective). S.
258 E.	St. Katharine (Church of St. Margaret), No date.	A candle to burn in the church in the worship of God and St. Katharine, where, every feast of the said maiden, all the brethren are to come and offer at high mass. Two torches for a dead brother, who shall have 30 masses. Every brother to offer $\frac{1}{d}$.	—	S.
259 E.	St. Lawrence (Church of St. Margaret), No date.	Gild-candles at funeral services and offering of a $\frac{1}{d}$. from each. Forty masses for the dead. A light of 5 candles on festivals.	—	S.
260 E.	St. Leonard (Church of St. James). No date.	A candle to burn on festivals before St. Leonard's image. Gild mass on Sunday after feast of St. Leonard with offering. Brethren accompany the corpse of a brother to church with the light, burning then and during service time. Offering $\frac{1}{d}$. Fifteen masses sung for the soul.	Loss by sea or by God's hand in other mis-hap—help to be given.	A brother to be suspended if he offend against the laws of Holy Church. To visit a brother if in prison. Their money is 21s. 8d., "ready to our lord the King's will."
261 L.	St. Margaret (Church of St. Margaret),|| 1354.	Procession with lights to church on Feast of St. Margaret; $\frac{1}{d}$. in offering for a dead brother and 40 masses and all gild-candles. A dead sister has all the candles by special grace, a son of a brother has the larger candle (only). A brother dying within 3 miles to be brought home at gild's expense if he cannot afford it himself.	$\frac{1}{d}$. from each brother in poverty. A brother away from the town or unable to attend the gild-feast through illness to have a goblet of ale.	S.

APPENDIX: NORFOLK

197

262 L.	St. Mary in Dampgate (Church of St. James), 1378.	In honour of our Lord, the B.V.M. and all Saints. Procession to church with lights for a parish mass and a mass of requiem. Gild-candles at funeral services and each offers $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; 30 masses for the dead.	Belief in poverty as far as possible.
263 L.	St. Mary and Holy Cross. No date.	Twenty masses for the soul of a dead brother. The death of a brother outside the town to be notified so that a mass of requiem may be held. All attend funeral services and offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The gild-light shall be taken to those who live outside the town who have so little share in the gild benefits. All go in procession on the principal feast to hear a solemn mass in the choir and a mass of requiem, and each offers $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	—
264 L.	St. Mary and St. George (Chapel of St. Nicholas). No date.	Procession on St. George's Day to church to hear mass, each offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The gild-light at the funeral mass of a brother, who is to have 30 masses. All attend funeral ceremonies and offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	Relief in poverty ac- cording to their means.
265 L.	St. Peter and All Saints.	Four gild-torches at funeral ceremonies, which all attend; offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Forty masses for a dead brother. If a brother die outside the town a requiem mass is said as well as the other masses. All come to their requiem and offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	—
266 E.	St. Peter, 1329. (Lynn Episcopi.)	Gild-candles accompany a dead brother to church; all attend and offer. Twenty masses for a brother.	Help of their alms in (Almost illegible).
267 L.	St. Sitha, 1377.	Candles as in 266, offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Twenty masses for the dead.	—
268 E.	St. Anne. No date.	Candles as in 266, offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms, 30 masses for a dead brother.	Help in poverty.
269 L.	St. Thomas, Martyr (Parish Church), 1272.	Because of the honour which so many of the town bear towards St. Thomas. A light before his image at matins, mass and vespers, and also a lamp to burn at night. All attend and offer at mass on the Feast of his Translation. Candles at funerals and offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	S.

THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
270 E.	St. Thomas of Canterbury. No date.	Candles as in 266, offering 1d., 24 masses for a dead brother. A light before (the image of) St. Thomas.	Help in poverty.	(Defective). S.
271 E.	St. Thomas of Canterbury (Church of St. Nicholas), 1376.	Founded to maintain a candle on festivals before the image of St. Thomas. At his mass all are present "fair and honestly arrayed," and offer ½d. A 16 lb. candle at the Easter Sepulchre. All attend funerals and offer ½d., 30 masses for the dead.	Help in poverty or loss by God's hand.	They have 40s. "redy at our lord the Kynges wille." S.
272 L.	St. Thomas the Martyr. " Lately."	Founded by six of the town who had made pilgrimage to Canterbury. A candle in honour of St. Thomas. All attend funeral services and offer ½d., 13 masses for the dead.	—	—
273 E.	St. Thomas of Canterbury. No date.	Gild-candles at the dirge for a brother, ½d. in offering and ¼d. in soul-alms, 26 masses for the dead.	1d. quarterly in poverty from each brother and sister.	A man unable to attend the gild-feast to have a gallon of ale. S.
274 E.	St. William (Church of St. Margaret), 1383. (Young Scholars' Gild.)	To maintain and keep an image of St. William, standing in a tabernacle, and find 6 tapers to burn before it on festivals. Others, seeing their devotion, made gifts to perpetuate it. Then in their desire for increase in numbers they ordained 24 masses for a dead brother and attendance at funerals. On the Feast of Relics all assemble and go in procession to the church, hear a mass in honour of God and St. William, and also on the same day a mass of requiem and make offering.	Help in poverty or loss so far as their goods allow.	They have spent all their goods on their works in the church. S.
275 L.	(Lynn Episcopi). Holy Trinity, 1377. (Parish Church, South Lynn.)	To find a light before the image of the Trinity where there is often a great number of people because of the miracles which often take place there and because so many have been healed (there) of their infirmities and diseases.	—	—

276 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of St. James). No date.	A hanging light and 4 great torches. Gild-light at 4d. a year from each funerals, mass and offering of ½d. from each. Forty masses for a dead brother.	4d. a year from each brother and sister in case of need.	—
277 L.	Great Gild of the Holy Trinity. “Time without memory.” (The Gild Merchant.)	They have chaplains and maintain certain lights and a torch for funeral ceremonies.	(Defective).	Evidently the governing body of the town. Alderman elected by the commonalty of the town. (Defective.)
278 L.	(? St. Thomas the Martyr), Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. Thomas, M., and All Saints. No date. (Church of St. Margaret.)	The principal day to be the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, on the vigil of which they all meet and go in procession to the church to hear vespers. Mass on the Feast itself and offering ½d. from each. Gild-light at funeral ceremonies and 20 masses for a dead brother. Light before the image of St. Thomas to be renewed yearly.	—	After vespers on the vigil they are to return without any unseemly behaviour or jesting.
279 L.	Corpus Christi (Church of St. Margaret), c. 1349.	“In the great pestilence which at Lynn was in 1349, in which the greater part of the people of that town died, three men (seeing that) the venerated sacrament of the Body of Christ was being carried through the parts of the town with only a single candle of poor wax burning in front of it, whereas 2 torches made of the best wax are hardly sufficient, thought this so improper that they ordained certain lights for it when carried by night or by day in the visitation of the sick . . . , and designed this devotion to last for the period of their lives. Others seeing their devotion offered to join them and some 13 drew up the ordinances.	(Very bad condition.)	Help in poverty.

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280 E.	(North Lynn.) Purification B.V.M. No date.	In special honour of the feast of our Lady called Candlemas. Three candles to be maintained before (the image) to burn on festivals. Gild candles at funerals, offering $\frac{1}{d}$, 30 masses for a dead brother. Soul-alms.	—	—
281 E.	(North Lynn.) St. Edmund.	<i>Mutatis mutandis</i> as in 280. 30d. for masses for dead.	—	—
282 E.	(North Lynn.) St. James. No date.	Three candles on festival days before the (image of) St. James. Gild-candles at funerals, offering $\frac{1}{d}$. from each brother. 30d. in masses for the dead. Soul-alms.	4d. a week in need.	No property.
283 L.	(West Lynn.) Assumption B.V.M. 1359.	Thirty masses for a dead brother. All attend funerals and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. at mass.	—	—
284 L.	(West Lynn.) St. Helena. 1359.	All attend mass on the Feast of St. Helen and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. All attend funerals and offer $\frac{1}{d}$, 24 masses for the dead.	—	—
285 E.	(West Lynn.) St. John Baptist, 1374.	Gild-candles at funerals. All accompany the corpse to church, hear mass and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. and give $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms to be spent in bread. Thirty masses for the soul. A gild-light.	—	—
286 E.	(West Lynn.) St. Nicholas, 1359.	As in 285, but no soul-alms for bread.	—	—
287 L.	(West Lynn.) St. Peter and St. Paul (Parish Church), “Formerly.”	All attend mass on the Apostles' feast-day. Forty masses for the dead and offering of $\frac{1}{d}$. Fines go to a light always burning in the church.	—	—

			Each brother and sister pays 6d. and a capon to the general feast. Each is to make bequest to the gild.
288 L.	Multon. Corpus Christi , (Parish Church), 1368.	Narburgh. All Saints, 1375.	They have a chaplain yearly to celebrate for souls, etc., and daily to be at mattins, mass, vespers, and the other canonical hours except for reasonable cause. All attend funeral ceremonies, each offering 1d. and 1d. in soul-alms. Each brother to provide a candle and carry it himself or by deputy at a funeral mass, and also about the Body of Christ at mass and procession of Corpus Christi.
289 L.		Norwich. Annunciation (Collegiate Church of St. Mary). "Time without memory."	One mass weekly for living and dead, 5 torches at the elevation on Sundays and festivals and 3 candles also on festivals; 1d. in offering at funeral mass and 1d. in soul-alms. They give of their goods to the repair of the church.
290 L.			In honour of God and of the B.V.M., and for the increase of divine worship, the maintenance of the church and the relief of those serving God there. All assemble yearly on the 4th Sunday after Easter for a mass of the Annunciation, because that feast so often falls in Passiontide. Each offers 1d. Because (?) the resources of the dean and canons for the service of God are so slender as to be insufficient for the relief of the other ministers of that church, two chaplains are chosen by the gild who, attired in the same habit as the canons wear, are to attend daily all the canonical hours and pray for the King, the realm, the Duke of Lancaster, and for souls of the brethren living and dead. A Corpus Christi procession. Attendance and offerings at funeral ceremonies.
291 L.		Corpus Christi (?) (Collegiate Church of St. Mary), 1278.	Preamble to Statutes: Because of the frailty of human nature, it is not easy to avoid sin, and since prayers and other acts of piety and charity avail for salvation, the gild has been founded with these thoughts in mind that mercy may be implored for quick and dead, etc. S.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
292 E.	St. Austin (Parish of St. Austin), 1380. (Poor men's gild.)	The poor men of the parish founded this gild for the help and amendment of their poor parish church. They offer a light yearly on the Sunday before St. Austin's feast and hear their principal mass and offer 30d. for 30 masses for a dead brother whose funeral all attend if he die within 7 miles of the city.	3d. a week in poverty, sickness, etc., by the "singing of Christ."	S.
293 L.	St. Bartholomew and All Saints (Church of St. Bartholomew), 1365.	In honour of St. Bartholomew and all Saints. They hear a solemn mass, offer 1d. and give 1d. in soul-alms on the Sunday after the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. They give of their goods to maintain a light and to celebrate masses for souls of brethren and sisters.	—	—
294 E. (Pre- amble L.)	St. Botolph (Church of St. Botolph), 1384.	In honour of St. Botolph and to find a light for the daily mass. They offer a gild-candle yearly on the Sunday after Epiphany, hear solemn mass and offer 1d. each. The next day a requiem mass to be held. All attend funeral services, offer 1d. and give 1d. in soul-alms. Mass for the dead with 2 torches and 2 candles.	1d. a week from each member to one in poverty.	S.
295 E. (Pre- amble L.)	St. Christopher (Augustine Friars' Church), 1384.	They will pray devoutly for the state of Holy Church and the peace of the land, for the pope and cardinals, the patriarch of Jerusalem, for the restoration of the Holy Land, for peace and unity in the church, bishops, king and nobility, etc. . . . and for all true shipmen and pilgrims, for all heretics who desire the true belief, etc.	12d. a week in poverty, towards which each subscriber 1d. a week, the balance to go to the light.	They have no ordinances in prejudice of the common law. S.

296 E. (Pre- amble L.).	St. George (Cathedral Church), 1385.	In honour of St. George and to maintain a light at the daily mass. On St. George's Feast all hear both even songs and mass and pray for the brothers and sisters. On the feast-day they offer the candle and $\frac{1}{d}$. The day after is the mass of requiem. All attend funeral services, offer $\frac{1}{d}$. and give $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms, and a penny for a mass.	80d. a week in poverty, towards which each subscriber $\frac{1}{d}$. a week, the balance to go to the making of an image of St. George.	They have 40s. for the light and the making of the image. S.
297 L.	St. James. No date.	Gild-day the Sunday after the Feast of St. James, as long as 4 are living of the fraternity. Each gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms. Any brother dying within 7 miles to be brought home and properly buried. Two torches and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms.	12d. a week in poverty.	S.
298 E. (Pre- amble L.).	St. Katharine (Church of St. Simon and St. Jude), 1307.	In honour of the Trinity, the B.V.M., St. Katharine V. and M., and all Saints, and to increase the lights. Procession with the candle on the gild-day with mass of St. Katharine and offering of $\frac{1}{d}$. At funeral services, which all attend, $\frac{1}{d}$. in offering and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms; 2 candles about the body. A brother dying within eight miles to be brought home or to have services as if present. A brother if "lettered" to say <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> for the dead, one "unlettered" simpler devotions. A yearly requiem mass on the morrow of the gild-day with $\frac{1}{d}$. offering.	1d. a week from each to one in poverty.	Ordinance re settlement of disputes. A livery-hood to be worn. S.
299 L.	St. Mary (Carmelites' Church), (Candlemakers). No date.	Each pays 12d. to the making of 3 candles to burn at the high altar on the Feast of the Purification.	—	—
300 E.	St. Mary (Church of Friars Preachers), 1360.	In honour of Our Lady, St. Mary, Christ's Mother. As long as 12 of the fraternity are living they will offer a candle and 2 torches yearly on the Sunday after the Nativity of the B.V.M., to burn at the high mass from the elevation to the priest's communion, offering $\frac{1}{d}$.	—	S.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
301 L.	St. Michael (Chapel of St. Michael next the House of St. Leonard without the gates).	A mass with note and all solemnity on St. Michael's Day, when they offer 2 candles and each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. and gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms.	—	" Founded by divers artificers and labourers. No craft statutes.
302 E. (Pre-ambule L.).	Holy Trinity (Cathedral Church, 1364).	Out of devotion and to increase the lights in the cathedral. All begin their devotions on the eve of the Feast of the Trinity, coming solemnly to mattins with torches. On the feast itself a procession to offer 5 lights to burn before Our Lady. The day after a requiem mass, offering $\frac{1}{d}$.; $\frac{1}{d}$. at funerals and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms; 2 candles for the dead and a penny each of the goods of the gild for a psalter for the dead.	12d. a week in poverty from a weekly subscription of $\frac{1}{d}$. from each, the balance to the light.	S.
303 L.	Holy Trinity (Cathedral Church and Church of St. Mary), 1366.	Purpose as in 302. The rest as in 302 with slight alteration. " Because the humble sons of the Holy Mother Church are bound to visit yearly the cathedral as their spiritual mother to offer their light and increase divine worship." With this in view they are especially concerned to provide 2 torches to burn at the elevation till the communion, and 2 candles also to burn daily at the mass of the Virgin from the beginning to the end.	7d. a week in poverty from a collection made as a work of charity from the brethren.	—
304 E. (Pre-ambule L.).	St. William (Cathedral Church, 1376, (Petyers' Gild.)	To the honour of God, the Virgin Mother and St. William, the increase of divine worship, and to provide 2 chaplains in relief of those who serve God in the cathedral. Yearly on the Sunday after the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul they offer 2 candles at the tomb of St. William, hear mass and offer	14d. a week from a $\frac{1}{d}$. collection, balance to gild stock.	Founded by petyers and other good men. They have no ordinance against the King's right or the law. S.

<p>"Also a knave chyld innocent beren a candel yat day . . . led betwixen to gode men, tokenyng of ye gloriouse marter." Mass of requiem on the morrow and offering of 4d. Four poor men with 4 torches at funerals. All hear mass and offer 1d. and 1d. in soul-alms. On the gild-day the bellman to go through the city, announce the requiem mass and bid prayer for the souls of the brethren and all Christians.</p>	<p>? St. John Baptist. No date. (Barbers' Brother-hood.)</p>	<p>As long as 12 of them live they will offer a candle and 2 torches on midsummer day and hear mass at the high altar at "Charunel." These lights to burn at high mass daily from the elevation to the communion.</p>	<p>Began with the intent to increase the torches at the sacrament at the high altar. Bidding prayer before the gild-meeting, each brother to say 5 paternosters and 5 ave's. Procession yearly with the new candle to hear high mass and offer 1d. All attend all funeral services, offering 1d. and giving 1d. in soul-alms. Each brother to give a penny for a mass for the dead. "Service, mass-offering, alms, mass-pence, and trental" for a brother dying abroad as if he were present.</p>	<p>Their allegiance to the King is unaffected by their ordinances which forbid confederacy against the King or common law, etc. S.</p>
<p>305 E. (Pre-amble L.)</p>	<p>Holy Trinity (Cathedral Church), 1375. (Carpenters' Gild.)</p>	<p>To be held before the image of Our Lady in the nun's church at "Carrowe." As long as 12 of them live they will find a light of 32 lbs. weight to burn daily at the elevation at high mass. Gild-day the Sunday after Trinity. They meet for prayer on the eve, attend mass on the day and offer in Christ's Church, and then go with lights in procession to mass and offering of 1d. at the nunnery. Two poor men with torches at funerals. All attend and offer 1d. and give 1d. in soul-alms. Mass, etc., for brothers dying outside as if present.</p>	<p>St. Mary and All Saints (Conventual Church of "Carow'e"), 1385. (Saddlers and Spurriers.)</p>	<p>They have nothing of greater value than 10s. They have a livery for the purpose of recognition but for no other reason. S.</p>

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308 E. (Pre- amble L.).	Ascension (Chapel of St. Mary <i>de campis</i>), 1350. (Tailors' Gild.)	In honour of the Ascension and to increase divine worship in the chapel. They meet on Ascension Day with the light, hear mass and offer. Mass of requiem the day after. The bedel to summon brethren to attend all services for a dead brother; 2 candles; each brother to give 1d. in soul-alms, say our Lady's psalter and give a penny for a mass. Brethren dying within 7 miles to be brought home, if further off to have service as if present. Prayers and light before the gild-meeting.	7d. a week to the poor, blind, etc., so long as they are not proved thieves.	S.
309 L.	Outwell. Corpus Christi (Church of St. Clement), 1377.	If a brother die they assemble and carry him to the church, all offer at mass and the dean distributes bread in soul-alms. Fines go to lights.	If any fall into need, not of his own fault, he to have 8d. and on the principal day his offering and all else like other brethren.	Ordinance re undue talk at gild meetings, settlement of disputes, introducing too many guests, etc. S.
310 L.	Purification B.V.M. (Church of St. Clement). No date.	To find 5 lights in the chapel of St. Mary in honour of the five joys. On the Feast of the Purification they go to the church for a mass of requiem where each offers 4d. On returning home each to give 1d. in alms. They attend all funeral ceremonies and offer 1d., and each causes a mass to be said for the soul.	4d. a week in accidental poverty.	Ordinance re settlement of disputes. Convicted thieves to be expelled from the gild. S.
311 L.	St. Christopher (Church of St. Clement), 1382.	Founded chiefly to maintain love and charity, to further the seven works of mercy and the holy works of the church. A light at mattins, mass, and vespers on all festivals. They meet and go to first vespers of St. Christopher. Each offers 1d. and gives 1d. in soul-alms at a brother's funeral. After burial the bell is tolled and a mass celebrated for the soul.	7d. a week in accidental poverty.	As in 310.

		Ordinance <i>re</i> disputes.	
312 L.	Oxborough. All Saints, 1383.	<p>After dinner on the vigil of All Saints they go in procession with the light to vespers and compline. On the feast itself they assemble after mattins and offer at the high mass. Light at funerals. All attend and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. and give $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms. On All Saints' and All Souls' Day each gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms for the faithful departed. Requiem for all on All Souls' Day. Each to cause a mass to be said for a dead brother or sister.</p>	3½d. a week in poverty. S.
313 L.	Corpus Christi, 1360.	<p>(At the festival of Corpus Christi) all attend first vespers. Torches to burn thenceforward until the conclusion of second vespers. On the day each brother to have a torch in his hand burning from the beginning of the procession up to the end of mass. Then they eat and drink together and each brings to the meeting-place a loaf or $\frac{1}{d}$. for alms. Then all attend second vespers.</p> <p>The 13 brothers and sisters shall have 13 masses a year at the high altar. If a brother or sister dies all come to the house where the corpse lies for <i>plaeza</i> and <i>dirige</i>, and on the day of burial all assemble at the house, with 2 torches burning; all the torches burn at the elevation. Offering in soul-alms $\frac{1}{d}$. in bread or money. Each causes a mass to be said within 13 days. The bellman to bid prayer for the dead through the town. If a brother or sister die suddenly when away they shall cause the corpse to be watched as far as possible and buried in a consecrated cemetery.</p>	Ordinance <i>re</i> disputes. S.
314 L.	St. John Baptist and All Saints (Chapel of B.V.M.), 1335.	<p>They have a light. On the Nativity of St. John Baptist each sends to the place of assembly (or brings) a loaf in alms. All offer at the mass or send to offer. If possible they are to come to vespers on the vigil. For a brother dying within 5 miles each shall come or send his offering on the day of burial and a loaf in soul-alms, and shall cause a mass to be said within 15 days. The bellman as in 313 and a mass on the month's mind.</p>	As in 313. S.

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315 E.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. John), 1307.	All attend first evensong (with a light) of St. John and his mass and second evensong, each offering $\frac{1}{4}$ d. at the mass. A mass-penny at a funeral, $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in offering and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in soul-alms. A gild-light.	A brother or sister in mischief shall have "gilde" every day a farthing and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on Sunday.	Their goods are 20 quarters of barley at 20d. a quarter.
316 E.	St. Peter, 1378.	All attend first evensong of St. Peter's Day with a torch burning and mass and second evensong. Offering $\frac{1}{4}$ d. and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in alms. When a brother dies each gives 3d. A gild-light.	4 (?) by the year in mischief.	5 quarters of barley.
317 L.	Holy Trinity, 1382.	They find a candle to burn at mass on Sundays before the altar of the Holy Trinity from the Elevation until after the communion. On the Feast of the Trinity each offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and give $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in alms. When a brother dies each shall cause a mass to be said for his soul and give $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms.	Anyone in necessity through fire or water, etc., to have 15s. 6d. per annum. If the gild funds diminish too far for this, then it shall be given by the brethren out of their private goods.	—
318 L.	Roughton. Holy Trinity, St. Mary and All Saints (Church of All Saints), 1371.	Nicholas de Wurstede (and others named) seeing that the church was so little adorned and so lacking in ecclesiastical ornaments, vestments, lights, etc., founded the gild to remedy this, out of their devotion . . . and for souls . . .	On the Sunday before the Feast of St. Michael they have high mass and a procession "two and two with slow step." They offer yearly 6 torches. Two candles at the aforesaid mass to burn at matins, mass and vespers. On the day they come to vespers and hear <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> for souls. On the Monday they all come to church and offer at a mass of requiem.	Help in need.

When a brother dies within the town, all come to the vigils and offices of the dead, 6 torches about the body. They are present when the body is borne to the church, offering $\frac{1}{d}$. and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms. The gild-officers collect $\frac{1}{d}$. from each and spend the total in masses and soul-alms. If desired a brother who dies out of the town is to be brought back and buried, if necessary at gild's expenc. If he be not brought back, services as if he were present. If goods suffice they are to have a chaplain to sing for souls, etc.				
319 L.	Runetton. St. John Baptist. "Time without memory."	They hear mass on the feast-day and find certain candles to burn before St. John's image. All attend funerals and give $\frac{1}{d}$. at mass and $\frac{1}{d}$. for a mass for the dead.	Help in need.	—
320 L.	Sal. Assumption, 1374.	In honour of the Assumption and to increase the lights. Solemn mass on the feast, 2 torches, $\frac{1}{d}$. at the mass and $\frac{1}{d}$. in alms. Mass for the dead, offering $\frac{1}{d}$. from each and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms.	—	—
321 L.	St. James, 1358.	All attend vespers on the vigil of St. James and say a psalter of the virgin for souls of the brethren. Each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. at St. James's mass. All attend funeral services and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms. They find a torch and 3 candles to burn before the image of St. James at mass and vespers on his feast.	—	Every poor person coming to the gild-feast to have a meal and $\frac{1}{d}$.
322 L.	<i>Mutatis mutandis</i> as in 320 and 321.	—	—	—
323 L.	Sheringham. Christ Jesus (Church of All Saints), 1387.	In honour of our Lord Jesus Christ. Solemn mass once a year when each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. Three candles are found to burn every Sunday. These have a tablet on which the name of Jesus is written. A tentral of St. Gregory to be celebrated for a dead brother.	—	—

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324 F.	Stoke Ferry. Assumption, 1387.	In honour of the Assumption, the increase of divine service and improvement of Holy Church.	—	—
325 L.	All Saints (Church of All Saints), 1359.	In honour of God, the B.V.M. and all Saints, and for souls, etc. A candle for festival days. At the gild-mass each offers ½d. and a collection of ¼d. each is made for alms. Gild-candle at funerals, which all attend. Each causes a mass to be said for the dead.	One in sickness at the time of the feast to have a halfpenny and a (loaf). 3½d. a week in need.	—
326 L.	Stradsett. Assumption, 1385.	All attend mass and offer ½d. at the Feast of the Assumption. Two candles at the elevation on Sundays and festivals and 3 candles before the image of St. Mary in the church. When a brother dies each gives ¼d. in offering and ¼d. to the warden for soul-alms.	—	—
327 L.	Swaffham. Ascension, 1341.	On the vigil of the Ascension all come to vespers. At the mass each offers ¼d. and gives ¼d. in alms. When a brother dies all attend the services and each says a psalter of the B.V.M. for the soul. They follow the corpse to the church and give 1d. for a mass and offer ¼d. and ¼d. in soul-alms. Seven candles in the church to burn on festivals.	—	—
328 L.	(i.) Invention of Holy Gross. No date. (ii.) St. Guthlac (Church of St. Peter and St. Paul), 1364.	As in 327. Twelve candles on festivals. As in 327. Nine candles on festivals.	— —	—

	(iii.) St. Peter, 1384.	As in 327. Six candles on festivals.		
329 L.	All Saints (Church of St. Peter and St. Paul), 1333.	As in 327. Seven candles on festivals.		
330 L.	Ferrington. St. John Baptist (Church of St. John Baptist), 1384.	Out of devotion and in honour of St. John Baptist. They have a priest to celebrate for the good estate, etc. All attend funerals, offer 1d. and give 1d. in soul- alms. On the Feast of the Beheading of St. John they offer a great candle (called a torch) to burn on festivals at the elevation. Thirty masses for the dead within a quarter of the year after death.		
331 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of St. Clement), 1377.	Out of devotion and in honour of the Trinity. All attend mass of the Trinity on the feast and offer 1d. They have a priest celebrating through the whole year and 8 candles to burn at the elevation.		
332 L.	Theford. Fraternity of the Chapel of the Nativity, c. 1289. “ In the market of Theford.”	They have three chaplains celebrating who are sup- ported by the alms of the fraternity, by which alms the brothers and sisters partake in the benefits of the masses, prayers and other devotions in the chapel. One chaplain celebrates daily, the second on Sundays, the third the requiem mass. The anniversary of a dead brother or sister is kept with <i>placero</i> , <i>dirige</i> and requiem mass. They have 5 candles burning daily at mass.	The chapel is distant from other churches nearly half a mile, and because of this the majority of those who flock to the market hear mass in the chapel.	
333 L.	Tilney. (i.) St. Lawrence (Chapel of St. Lawrence).	Out of the devotion of the parishioners and in honour of St. Lawrence, on whose day all hear mass and offer 1d. A chaplain celebrates throughout the year; 6 candles burn at the elevation, 3 at the Easter Sepulchre, and 2 before St. Lawrence throughout the year. 30d. in masses and other works of charity for a dead brother.		
	(ii.) Holy Trinity (Parish Church).	<i>Mutatis mutandis</i> as in (i.) with slight variation in numbers of lights.		

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation. (Church of All Saints).	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
	(iii) St. Edmund the King (Church of All Saints).	As in (ii). In honour of the Blessed Virgin. They have found since the time of Henry III, and still find a candle to burn before the image of the Virgin. They offer ½d. at (the gild-mass). They attend the corpse of a brother to the church and each offers ½d.	—	—
334 L.	St. Mary, 1235-6. Tuttington.	They attend vespers on the vigil of St. Peter and each says a psalter of the virgin on behalf of the dead. Each offers ½d. at the mass and the warden 1d. for the mass. At funeral services all attend and say a psalter of the Virgin for the dead, offer ½d. and give ½d. in soul-arms. Four candles before St. Peter's image on festivals, at mass and vespers.	—	Expenses include the repair of the "picture" of the Holy Cross.
335 L.	St. Peter, 1381-2. Upwell.	In honour of Holy Cross and out of devotion. They hear mass of the Holy Cross at the altar of the Holy Cross on the feast, and each offers ½d. and gives the dean ½d. for the poor, and another ½d. for a candle before the cross on Sundays and festivals.	—	In 1376 the gild was broken up and nearly annihilated. In the following year it was begun again out of devotion to the B.V.M. A poor man to take the place of any brother absent from the feast.
336 L.	Invention of Holy Cross (Church of St. Peter). "Time without memory."	Those who renewed the gild did so with the primary intent that whatsoever they could lawfully collect they would spend by common consent at the altar of the B.V.M., in masses, lights, an image, ornaments, etc. Moreover (they did it) to nourish love and brotherhood between them as beneath good Christians.	—	Purification B.V.M. ("per parvam ripam"). "Of old time." Renewed 1377.
337 L.				S.

			S.
338 L.	Purification B.V.M. ("per magnam ripam")	As in 337. Each pays on the Feast of the Purification $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for the light and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in alms. 1364.	
339 L.	All Saints, 1358.	On the vigil of All Saints they come to first vespers and on the feast to mattins and mass and second vespers. A candle in honour of all Saints. They attend all funeral services and give 1d. for a mass to be celebrated within 8 days.	— Ordinance re settlement of disputes. Founded by John Maryot and John Goddyspole. S.
340 L.	New Gild of All Saints, 1385-6.	Out of devotion certain men founded the gild to main- tain and adorn with lights, etc. a chapel on the south side of the church, and to foster love and charity. On the vigil of All Saints they come to the house where the gild is to be held in that year, go to vespers and then return for the "drinking." The next day to mass, where each offers $\frac{1}{2}$ d. On the same day a mass of requiem. All attend funerals on pain of a fine.	— If a brother or sister by divine visitation come to need, 3d. a week. Burial if necessary at the gild's expense. S.
341 L.	St. Botolph (Church of St. Peter). "Time without memory."	Out of devotion. They meet on St. Botolph's Day and offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each to the chapel. They attend vespers, mattins and mass of the feast, and give $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in alms and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to the light. At a death they give $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in alms and another in offering so that two masses may be said. They hope to have a chaplain when their goods suffice.	—
342 L.	St. John Evangelist, 1382-3.	The principal cause and intent of the founding was thus: Certain men out of devotion to St. John agreed to repair, paint and adorn with ornaments and lights a chapel on the north side of the church. They purchased an image of St. John to stand in the chapel. (They aimed also) at increasing the devotion of the brethren and of the people, and fostering love and charity. When a brother dies all attend the services to pray for the soul. They attend the body to the church and offer at the high mass. On the same day they have a requiem mass at another altar for the souls of brethren, etc., and each offers 1d. On the general feast-day they have two masses, one of requiem, with offering of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. at each.	Burial in need at gild's expense. In poverty, paralysis, blindness, etc., $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week from each brother. S.

<i>Certificate No. and Language.</i>	<i>Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.</i>	<i>Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.</i>	<i>Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
343 L.	St. Peter. "Time without memory."	Out of devotion and in honour of St. Peter and all Saints. On St. Peter's Day all assemble at church with a light and have mass, and each offers 1d. at the altar of St. James, St. Katharine or the B.V.M. Absentees to provide the candle in the following year. The candle to burn at St. Peter's altar on Sundays and festivals.	—	—
344 L.	Walpole: St. Peter (Walpole Chapel), 1386.	They find lights in St. Peter's chapel. All are present at <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> for a brother.]	—	Any poor man dying in the town to be buried by the fraternity in honour of St. Peter and all Saints.
345 L.	Walsoken. Holy Cross (Church of All Saints), 1387.	A chaplain to celebrate in honour of Holy Cross, etc., and for the good estate of the King, etc. Five candles before the cross and 8 torches to burn at certain feasts. All attend funeral ceremonies in the gild-livery.	—	Any poor man dying with- in the town to be buried by the gild in honour of Holy Cross, the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and all Saints.
346 L.	Watlington. St. John (Baptist) (Church of St. Peter). No date.	To find a candle to burn yearly in honour of St. John.	—	The gild dedication is given only as "St. John," but the feast is held on the Na- tivity of St. John Baptist.
347 L.	St. Mary (Church of St. Peter), No date.	To find a candle to burn yearly in honour of St. Mary.	—	—
348 L.	St. Peter. No date.	Out of the devotion of certain of the faithful, both men and women, for their eternal welfare. A light at mass before St. Peter's image, which light is offered yearly. On St. Peter's Day all hear mass. They attend all funeral ceremonies and each causes a mass to be celebrated for the deceased, and gives 1d. to be bestowed where it is most fitting.	—	They eat and drink to- gether to foster love and charity and no note of discord must be allowed to mar the feast.

349 L.	Westacre. Assumption (Church of All Saints), 1349.	A candle annually to burn in honour of the B.V.M.	Out of devotion and in honour of the B.V.M. and all Saints. They hear mass on the feast and each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. and gives the dean $\frac{1}{d}$. for aims to the poor. Five candles at the elevation and 3 candles before the Virgin's image. All attend funeral services to pray for the soul, each gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in offering and another to the dean to be distributed in soul-alms.	—
350 L.	Westbrigg. Assumption (Church of St. Botolph). No date.			Burial if necessary at gild's expense for a brother dying within 10 miles.
351 L.	Wormegay. Annunciation (Church of St. Michael). No date.		They find a candle to burn on festivals. If a brother dies each of the others is to cause a mass to be cele- brated for the deceased and the alderman is to provide one at the gild's expense. A brother dying within 10 miles the alderman and two brothers to fetch him home. $\frac{1}{d}$. offering at a funeral mass and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms.	—
352 L.	Invention of Holy Cross (Church of St. Michael). No date.		Masses for the dead as in 351. On the principal day each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. and gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in alms. A brother dying within 3 miles as in 351.	As in 351 if within 3 miles.
353 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. Michael). No date.		They find a candle annually to burn in honour of St. John.	Feast held on Nativity of St. John Baptist.
354 L.	St. Michael (Church of St. Michael). No date.		To find a candle to burn in the chapel of the Holy Cross. (On the festival) they attend on the vigil and the day during the whole services, 1d. from gild and each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. and gives $\frac{1}{d}$. in alms. Gild-candles for a brother dying in Wormegay or "Totinhill." All come to funeral mass, offer $\frac{1}{d}$. and give $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms. A mass at gild's expense.	—

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355 L.	Worstead. No Dedication, 1369.	John Skete and others, of their devotion, maintain 3 candles and 2 tapers burning at mass on festivals, and propose to maintain a chaplain when funds permit.	—	—
356 E.	Wiggenhall. Assumption, 1384-5.	" <i>begunne . . . for to worshippe oure lady.</i> " They pray for the King, the pope, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the Holy Land, the fruits of the earth, for shipmen and travellers, for souls, etc. Gild-light for the dead. Nine masses for the dead, 1d. in offering.	Burial in need at gild's expense.	The certificate begins with a kind of bidding prayer and office. (Return rather incoherent.)
357 E.	Holy Trinity. No date.	A recital of gild devotions and prayers.	They shall search for As in 356. a drowned brother if within 6 miles. Burial in need at gild's expense.	—
358 E.	Holy Trinity, 1387.	In honour of Jesus Christ, St. Mary, the whole fellowship of heaven and the Trinity, 1d. quarterly to the Trinity light.	—	Begun by 31 brethren and sisters.
359 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of St. German), 1360.	All hear mass on Trinity Sunday, offer 1d. and give 1d. to the dean for alms to the poor. All attend funeral services, offer 1d. and give 1d. in soul-alms; gild-lights and 30 masses for the dead.	In poverty an annual pension according to the determination of the brotherhood.	—
360 E.	St. John Baptist, Cranborne, 1387.	Gild-lights at funerals for all brethren dying within six miles. A torch at the elevation; 3 candles before St. John's image.	—	Gild prayers and bidding prayer given. Ordinance re settlement of disputes.
361 L.	Nativity of B.V.M. (Church of St. Mary), 1385.	All hear mass on the feast and offer 1d. and give 1d. to the dean to be distributed in alms. The same at funeral masses. All attend funeral services and the officer of the gild gives a penny for a mass.	Burial in need at gild's expense.	—

362 E.	St. Peter. No date.	On St. Peter's Day all go in procession to the church with garlands of oak leaves. All go to church for funerals, offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and giving $\frac{1}{2}$ d. worth of bread in soul-alms. Seven masses for the dead. Men who perish by land or water within 3 miles to be sought for and brought to Christian burial. Gild-light at funerals. A torch at the elevation and a taper before St. Peter.	Burial in need at gild's expense.
363 L.	Holy Ghost (Church of St. Mary Magdalene), 1368.	To find 4 candles to burn before the crucifix at mattins and mass on festivals. Four torches at the elevation and at funerals, which all attend. Offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms. All come to mass on Pentecost and offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Men who perish by sea to be sought for for three days and given Christian burial.	Burial in need at gild's expense.
364 L.	St. Mary Magdalene, “newly.”	Each to pay 1d. for souls. Four torches at the elevation and 5 candles at the Easter Sepulchre.	—
365 E.	East Winch. St. John Baptist. Temp. Ric. II.	Gild-candle at dirge for a dead brother; each offers $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and gives $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms. Fourteen masses for the dead.	Food sent to a sick brother absent from the feast. S.
366 L.	Wymondham. St. Thomas the Martyr (Chapel of Wymondham), 1187.	On the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas all assemble at the third hour and solemnly bear a candle to the chapel, hear mass, offer $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and say a psalter of the B.V.M. At the same time on the following Monday they have a requiem mass, offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. All attend all funeral services; 2 candles round the body; offering $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in soul-alms.	Help in need.
367 L.	Great Yarmouth. No Dedication, 1348.	Hugo Falstof and others out of their devotion found a candle to be carried before the priest on his way with the Body of Christ to visit the sick. This they have done for 40 years.	They have 100s. in hand.

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368 F.	Ascension, 1356.	In honour of God, St. Mary and Holy Church, and for the amendment of living and dead. A candle at first vespers, matins, mass and second vespers of the Ascension. On the Sunday after they shall hear masses and say 6 paternosters, 6 ave and 1 credo.	8d. a week during poverty. Burial in need at gild's expense.	13 poor men to receive 1d. each at the gild-feast. The sick to have their portions sent to them and to pray if they can. Absentees send a deputy. S.
369 L.	St. George the Martyr (Charnel House, next St. Nicholas' Church). No date.	They swear to keep the statutes "to the honour of God and the glorious martyr and the help of the souls of their founders," as long as 3 survive. A candle before the image of St. George during divine service as long as 3 of the fraternity survive. They	In poverty 7½d. per week, a tunic with hood, and other clothing. Burial in need at gild's expense.	The sick to have their portions sent from the gild-feast. The portions of absentees go to the poor. They have had their old statutes examined to see if there was anything in them contrary to law. S.
370 L.	St. George the Martyr? (In Chapel of St. George, St. Nicholas' Church), 1377-8.	John Elys and others, burgesses, are wont to come together on St. George's Day in the church and give certain sums to maintain a chaplain singing for the souls of the King, etc. daily, and provide 2 tapers, 2 candles and the necessary altar ornaments.	—	—
371 L.	St. Peter (Church of St. Nicholas), c. 1379.	John Hall and three other men and four women have been wont to meet yearly on St. Peter's Day and find a candle for the daily mass at his altar.	—	—

		S.	
372 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of St. Nicholas), Statutes 1363.	They will find a candle for the Trinity Chapel as long as 3 or 4 of them selves or their successors are living. On the day of death of a brother or sister whether at home or away, 52 masses shall be arranged for his soul. On that day each shall say, or cause to be said, three psalters of the Virgin and offer 2d. and give 2d. in soul-alms.	In poverty 7d. a week and the gild light at a funeral.
373 L.	Holy Trinity (Church of St. Nicholas), (Cobblers and Tanners), 1364.	Begun by cobblers and tanners in honour of the Trinity and the bettering of the brotherhood. To find a candle to burn beside, and at the same time as, the candle of the other fraternities. All aiftend offices for a dead brother and say, or cause to be said, 3 psalters of the Virgin on the day of burial. They offer at the mass and each gives the alderman 1d. to be spent on masses. An anniversary to be kept for dead brethren on St. Gregory's Day; each offers at the mass and gives 2d. in soul-alms and says, or causes to be said, a psalter of the Virgin for the dead.	If a brother or sister had willed to be buried in Yarmouth, it shall be done, if necessary, at gild's expense. 10d. a week in poverty, a tunie with hood and other clothing.
374 L.	Corpus Christi. No date.	The Society of Corpus Christi is not a gild for they have no provisions, ordinances or constitutions, nor any oath; they simply maintain a light yearly on Corpus Christi Day.	No craft statutes. Goods include vestments, etc., and a great chest to keep them in. If the fraternity comes to an end those are to remain for the worship of God. S.
375 L.	St. Christopher. No date.	The society is not a gild (as in 374); but annually on St. Christopher's Day each gives 40d. for the maintenance of an altar with ornaments and a chaplain celebrating daily. Any one may pay one year and retire the next if he will.	—
376 L.	St. John Baptist. No date.	The society . . . (as in 374). A light before St. John's image.	—
377 L.	St. Mary of Arneburgh (Cobblers).	The society . . . (as in 374). A light before St. Mary's image.	As in 374.

As in 374.

As in 374.

As in 374.

As in 374.

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NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE. Daventry. Holy Trinity and Holy Cross, 1383.	378 L.	Out of reverence to the Trinity and Holy Cross. John Cok and 9 others (named) agreed to form a fraternity to find a candle to burn before the altar of Holy Cross on festivals, and to find a chaplain to sing an early mass for labourers and travellers. If a brother die the brethren assemble and cause his body to be honourably buried. Each offers (at the mass) on the day of burial.	In loss by fire, etc., help from the gild. Burial in need at gild's expense.	Thieves, adulterers, brawlers, etc., and other malefactors to be ejected. Fine for scorning any of the brethren by calling him thief or "scurr."
Desborough. Gilds of B.V.M., St. John Baptist and St. Nicholas. "Time without memory."	379 L.	The brothers and sisters of the fraternities come on their respective feast days and find a candle to burn before the image of their saints on festivals. They pay, some £ a mark, some 10s., and between them (?) a mark in part maintenance of a chaplain celebrating for the brothers and sisters and other good men of the town.	—	No oath, livery or common goods.
Northampton. Corpus Christi, 1350.	380 L.	Certain burgesses had such devotion that they ordained (in honour of God, the B.V.M. and all Saints, and especially in reverence and praise of that most sacred and venerated Body of Christ which is consecrated on the altar) a general procession, as well of secular people and of the many who came together as of religious and regular, on Corpus Christi Day before high mass through the whole town, in which that most sacred Body should be most devoutly carried with great solemnity. Before the procession the burgesses assemble at All Saints' Church, clothed in one pattern (of livery) and carrying torches; they go round the church and then proceed for the (?).	A brother falling into need, not of his own rashness or negligence, shall be helped by a charitable contribution up to £5 or more.	Northampton is an ancient royal borough and has a constitution as such from time without memory. Consequently its townsfolk can freely bequeath lands, etc., to whomsoever they will, regular or secular, to churches, altars, lights, as well as to find chaplains in other places or any other divine office for souls. . .

At high mass their prayers are for the good estate of the King, etc. They offer at mass, the torches burning round the Sacrament until the end. *Placebo et dirige* after vespers of the day and requiem mass

with note on the morrow. They had a chaplain continually celebrating for the good estate, etc. Later the devotion increased and they appointed another to celebrate daily. A mass of requiem and the torches for a dead brother.

St. John Baptist
(Church of All Saints),
1347.

Chaplain as in 380. Later their devotion increased and they were joined by other burghesses thus enabling their object to be carried out. They observe vespers on the vigil of St. John, matins, the hours and mass on the feast with all solemnity of chaplains and clergy. *Placebo*, etc., as in 380. They also go in procession (or pilgrimage) to the hospital of St. John Baptist and make oblations and prayers. A requiem mass for a dead brother, who is honourably borne to burial by the others.

As in 380.
They describe themselves as "pauperula fraternitas." Through poverty their gild-feast has fallen into disuse.

381
L.

St. Katharine
(Church of St. Mary),
1347.

As in 380.
"Pauperula fraternitas."

382
L.

St. Mary
(Church of All Saints).
"Time without
memory."

As in 380.
"Pauperula fraternitas."

383
L.

Their service was begun in the praise of God, the B.V.M. and all Saints, and for the salvation of their bodies and souls. Then, desiring to increase divine service, they appointed a chaplain to say daily at dawn the mass of the day, with a special remembrance of the Holy Spirit and of St. Mary at the end of the mass for the good estate, etc., and for souls . . . and to give an opportunity (to hear mass) to visitors and others whose business takes them from the town. This continued up to the time of Edw. I. when increased devotion and numbers led to the appointment of another chaplain to say the prime mass daily. In the time of Edw. II. a third chaplain was appointed to sing a solemn mass between 11 o'clock and noon daily, which outside workers and others could hear after the other masses of the

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
	St. Mary— Continued.	town were done. Another mass with note is sung every Tuesday in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the B.V.M. and all Saints. Daily at sunset the <i>Salve Regina</i> is sung with other antiphons, versicles and prayers, with the organs to accompany. On the vigils of the 5 feasts of the Virgin after vespers <i>placabo</i> and <i>dirige</i> are sung and a requiem with note on the morrow.	—	The presentation to the chantry when vacant to be in the gift of the Vicar of Newark with Caldewell's consent while he lives, and after his death with that of 4 trustworthy men of the gild, or failing these 4 trustworthy men of the parish.
384 L.	Althorp. Crucifix, 1369.	The master to arrange for certain lights before the crucifix provided by the devotion of the brothers and sisters.	—	—
385 L.	Newark. Corpus Christi, 1351.	By license of Edw. III., Thomas Abbot of Rufford and the convent granted an annual rent to Master W. de Codynton, perpetual chaplain, and his successors to celebrate daily at the C. C. altar in Newark parish church, for the good estate of the brothers and sisters of the gild, living and dead. Robert de Caldewell, with the unanimous consent of the gild, ordained that William de Codynton . . . should so celebrate. The chaplain to say daily <i>placabo</i> and <i>dirige</i> and mass of Corpus Christi, and weekly a mass of the Virgin.	—	Recites <i>Inq. Ad quod Damnum.</i> Letters of Archbishop of York assenting to a deed of Simon and others which constitutes the fraternity.
386 L.	St. Mary the Virgin (Church of St. Mary Magdalene). Deed 1367.	It is not to the King's damage that Simon de Surflete and others should assign certain tenements to 2 chaplains to found a chantry for mass for the said Simon and for others daily. Regulations re future presentation.	—	—

387 L.	Holy Trinity and St. Peter (Church of St. Mary Magdalene). Deed 1305 (? for 1335).	Grant of certain tenements, ratified by letters of Archbishop of York, for a chantry. Regulations as to presentation.	—	Copies of charters granting and confirming gild-merchant to burghesses of Burford.
388 L.	OXFORDSHIRE. Burford. Gild Merchant.	A chaplain to celebrate daily for souls. All attend solemn mass on the Feast of the Assumption and offer 1d. Brethren attend all funeral services and offer at the funeral mass. On the day after there is a mass of requiem; each offers 1d. and gives 1d. in soul-alms.	20d. a week in poverty.	S.
389 L.	Oxford. B.V.M. (Church of All Saints). “Time without memory.”	To the honour of God, the B.V.M. and all Saints, for the increase of divine worship and especially in honour of the Assumption. A chaplain to assist the rector in choir at matins, the hours, etc., and especially at the Virgin's altar for the fraternity. All attend and offer at the solemn mass of the Assumption. All attend mass on the day of a brother's burial, offer 1d. and give 1d. in soul-alms or for masses. Requiem mass on the morrow of burial, offering 1d. Yearly requiem for the brotherhood.	7d. a week in poverty to be collected in equal portions from the brethren.	S.
390 L.	B.V.M. (Church of St. Ebb), 1370.	In the first pestilence the property fell into a ruinous condition and the emoluments became in consequence so small as not to suffice for a chaplain. Therefore certain men and women founded a fraternity to the end that scholars of the University and visitors coming there to sleep, could hear a mass between 5 and 6 a.m. They meet on the vigil of St. Thomas and again on the feast for a solemn mass with procession and offer. They attend all funeral services, offer at the mass and give 1d. in soul-alms.	—	Royal license 1350 to alienate certain messuages to found a chantry, granted to Nicholas Gerland.
391 L.	St. Thomas the Martyr (Church of St. Mary). License 1350.	In the first pestilence the property fell into a ruinous condition and the emoluments became in consequence so small as not to suffice for a chaplain. Therefore certain men and women founded a fraternity to the end that scholars of the University and visitors coming there to sleep, could hear a mass between 5 and 6 a.m. They meet on the vigil of St. Thomas and again on the feast for a solemn mass with procession and offer. They attend all funeral services, offer at the mass and give 1d. in soul-alms.	—	Royal license 1350 to alienate certain messuages to found a chantry, granted to Nicholas Gerland.

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
392 L.	SHROPSHIRE. Ludlow. Palmers of St. Mary (Church of St. Lawrence), 1284.	For the safety of our souls and those of our parents, benefactors and all Christians, and to further works of charity for living and dead, in honour of All Holy Cross, B.V.M., and all Saints. All attend all funeral services for a dead brother or sister and devoutly pray for the souls of the deceased and all the faithful in Christ. A man, but not a woman unless of the household of the deceased, may be allowed to keep watch by the dead during the night but he must not presume "to don hideous masks" or to make mock of the body or reputation of the deceased or try any other unproper games. See p. 19.	Help on 3 separate occasions in misfortune. Help in false imprisonment or dis-train, or in sickness. To a girl of the gild to go into a religious house or to marry proper help shall be given.	Goods include vestments, etc., some of which were bequeathed by the Earl of March.
393 F.	Shrewsbury. (Church in the middle of the town); "Formerly."	The good people and burgesses relate that there was an ancient church in the middle of the town with a dean and canons and endowed. These were put out and the prebends and possessions passed to the Abbey of Lyleshill. The church was left desolate and devoid of services which a good man took much to heart and so enfeoffed certain persons of some tenements during his lifetime. These were amortised for all time to the church to provide chaplains to perform divine service and pray for his soul, and for the souls of the King, Queen and all their noble ancestors . . . and all Christians.	—	—
394 L.	"The common chantry of Baa in the Church of St. Mary de Stalles," c. 1289.	Lands granted of old to the chantry were forfeit under statute of Mortmain, but were afterwards regranted with a pardon to find a chaplain to perform divine service daily for the good estate of the King, etc., and for souls. The chantry has two chaplains. The mayor, community and chaplains assemble yearly on a day in the week of Ponteost, to pray for the King, etc., and for souls of brethren and sisters, quick and dead, and for their benefactors.	—	The mayor is "custos" of the fraternity. Goods include vestments.

395 L.	STAFFORDSHIRE. Lichfield. St. Mary and St. John Baptist (Chapel of St. Mary). Licensed 1387.	To maintain divine service and works of charity and take away evil and unlawful deeds. To collect the salary for a chaplain to celebrate divine service for the good estate, etc., and for the brothers and sisters. They had bought out of the contribu- tions of the brotherhood a chalice and vestment.	— — There is only one parish chaplain and all the parishioners resort thi- ther in great numbers. The license is conditional on the non-holding of unlawful assemblies.
396 L.	SUFFOLK. Barton, next Mildenhall. Assumption B.V.M., c. 1369.	Founded in honour of the Assumption. To provide 5 candles before the image of the Virgin and a torch at the elevation. Weekly mass for brethren. Each offers $\frac{1}{d}$. at the Assumption. They give of their funds to the repair of the church.	— — No possessions.
397 L.	Barton. St. John Baptist (Church of St. Mary), 1373.	A candle before St. John's image and a torch at the elevation; $\frac{1}{d}$. on Feast of St. John Baptist in offering; $\frac{1}{d}$. at mass for a dead brother and $\frac{1}{d}$. in soul-alms.	— — No possessions.
398 L.	Beccles. Corpus Christi, 1354.	In honour of St. Mary, St. Edmund and St. Michael, and to hold a Corpus Christi procession yearly. Solemn anniversary for brethren on eve of Corpus Christi. A priest to celebrate, etc. Lights.	— — No possessions. Description of C. C. pro- cession. S.
399 F.	Holy Trinity. No date.	To have a chaplain celebrating, etc.	— They pray for a day to appear before the Chan- cery to explain that they have no possessions . . . and to be examined.
400 L.	Bury St. Edmund's. Assumption (Church of St. Mary). Newly founded.	Founded by parishioners to provide lights before the image of St. Mary.	— —
401 L.	Corpus Christi (Church of St. Edmund). “Time without memory.”	To provide lights in the church and to have a play (interludum) on Corpus Christi Day. They attend all funeral ceremonies for brethren and offer $\frac{1}{d}$. at the mass. They also give $\frac{1}{d}$. for mass for his soul.	— —

<i>Certificate No. and Language.</i>	<i>Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.</i>	<i>Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.</i>	<i>Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
402 L.	Corpus Christi (Church of St. Mary), 1317.	Yearly mass and yearly requiem for brethren.	—	Half their money belongs to the gild of St. Nicholas in the same church. The gild consists of a master and 12 priests, also laymen and women. —
403 L.	St. Anne (Church of St. James), c. 1309.	In honour of St. Anne. Lights before her image. All attend vespers with torches on the eve of St. Anne and mass on the feast. All attend mass at funerals and offer and give in soul-alms. Gild-lights round the body.	—	Governed by a prior (or cantor). They eat bread and cheese and drink together on the eve and Feast of St. Botolph. They have £10 4s. in money. S.
404 L.	St. Botolph (Church of St. James). “Time without memory.”	In honour of our Lord, St. Mary and St. Botolph. All attend full services on St. Botolph's Day; lights. Thirteen tapers and hense at gild's expense for a dead brother and mass. Yearly requiem for dead. Every priest of the gild to remember the dead man by name for a year after death, and all the brethren generally.	—	They bequeath of their goods to the fraternity.
405 L.	St. Christopher (Church of St. Edmund), c. 1349.	They have mass and make offering on St. Christopher's Day; 3 tapers before the saint's image. All attend funeral ceremonies of a brother.	—	—
406 L.	St. Mary (Church of St. James), c. 1329.	Brethren to assemble with a candle of 8 lbs. on the Feast of the Purification and hear mass at altar before St. Mary's image. Brethren attend mass and make offering at the funeral of a brother.	—	—
407 L.	Passion of St. Edmund the King (Abbey Church), 1385.	Lights to burn at St. Edmund's shrine at his daily mass. Brethren offer at a funeral mass for a brother.	—	—

408 L.	St. Edmund of Bury (Church of St. Edmund). “Time without memory.”	To attend mass at the church on the Feast of St. Edmund. They attend funeral ceremonies for a brother and offer at mass.			They make bequests to the fraternity.			
409 L.	St. George (Church of St. Edmund), c. 1369.	To provide lights before St. Edmund's image. Mass on St. George's Day. Funerals as in 408.			As in 408.			
410 L.	St. James (Church of St. James). Lately founded.	To provide lights before the image of St. James.			—			
411 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. Edmund). “Time without memory.”	To attend mass on St. John's Day and offer lights before his image. They attend funeral ceremonies and offer at the mass.			They make bequests to the fraternity.			
412 L.	St. John Baptist (Church of St. James), 1372.	To keep a taper before St. John's image. The brethren meet and carry the taper to the church on the Feast of the Beheading of St. John. They attend funeral ceremonies and pay 1d. each for a mass for the dead.			—			
413 L.	St. Margaret (Chapel of St. Margaret), 1346.	To attend mass on St. Margaret's Day, to give to the poor and provide lights. All attend funeral cere- monies and offer at mass for the soul.			—			
414 L.	St. Mary Magdalene (Church of St. Mary), 1379.	To attend mass on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene and provide 13 lights in the church. All attend funeral ceremonies and give for masses for souls of deceased brethren.			—			
415 L.	St. Nicholas (Church of St. Mary), 1282.	Founded by certain priests in honour of the Lord Jesus Christ, the BVM and St. Nicholas. In order that the feast of his Translation should be more fittingly kept.	Collection for a brother in poverty and funeral at guild's expense.		They eat bread and cheese and drink with the gild of C. C. (No. 402) on the eve of the Translation of St. Nicholas. Elaborate ordinances for funerals.			

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416 L.	St. Peter (Church of St. Mary), c. 1309.	Mass on the Feast of St. Peter. Founded to provide a chaplain and 13 lights before St. Peter's image. All attend funeral ceremonies.	—	—
417 L.	Clerks of Glensford, 1065. The gild claim also to have been founded temp. Canute.	In honour of our Lord, St. Mary, St. Peter, and all Saints. Founded to chant at the funerals of the monks of Bury. See also pp. 11 <i>et seq.</i>	They bury poor brethren and go out and fetch the sick.	Immunity from watch and ward granted by Abbot Ordign (1156-1180). No cleric in the town of Bury may presume to teach the psalter without the leave of the fraternity on pain of a 2s. fine. No layman may have his son trained in letters without leave of the gild.
418 L.	Caverham. St. Andrew, 1383.	Founded out of devotion. To keep lights before the image in the chancel, repair and maintain the church and image. All go to church with the body of a dead brother and offer 4d.	—	—
419 L.	St. Mary (Chapel of St. Mary), 1363.	A priest to celebrate weekly and a light before St. Mary's image, to maintain the chapel. All offer at mass for a dead brother and sister.	—	—
420 L.	Holy Trinity, 1377.	To keep a taper burning before the image of the Trinity, to help towards church repairs. All attend funerals.	—	—
421 L.	Gazeley. All Saints, 1377.	To provide a chaplain to celebrate once a week, lights for the church and help towards its repairs.	—	—

422 L.	St. James, 1377.	To provide a chaplain to celebrate, a taper before St. James's image, help towards repair and maintenance of the church. All go to funeral ceremonies and offer for a dead brother or sister.	—	—	—
423 L.	St. Margaret (Church of All Saints), 1359.	To provide a chaplain to celebrate weekly, a taper before St. Margaret's image, help towards church repairs. They offer at a funeral mass and give 1d. for a mass for the soul.	—	—	—
424 L.	Herringswell. St. Ethelbert the King, 1349.	<i>Mutatis mutandis</i> as in 423.	—	—	—
425 L.	St. Peter, 1375	<i>Mutatis mutandis</i> as in 423.	—	—	—
426 L.	Icklingham. Holy Cross, 1366.	Certain men and women out of devotion to Holy Cross gathered from their corn to provide a chaplain to celebrate once a week, 3 lights before the cross in the nave. Each member to cause a mass to be celebrated for the soul of a dead member. All to offer at mass for the dead.	—	They meet yearly to eat bread and cheese and to drink ale together.	—
427 L.	St. James, 1364.	A taper before St. James's image. Otherwise as in 426.	—	—	—
428 L.	Kentford. St. John Baptist, 1349.	<i>Mutatis mutandis</i> as in 426.	—	—	—
429 L.	Kettlebaston. Fraternity of Kettlebaston. No date.	To provide a candle before the crucifix and help towards repairs of the church.	—	—	—
430 L.	Lawshall. St. Peter, 1373.	To provide 5 torches at the elevation and 8 candles before St. Peter's image. Yearly they have a procession, barefooted and with other devotions, to carry the light and offer it in the church.	—	—	—

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431 L.	Monk's Eleigh Fraternity. Unknown.	To provide a candle before the crucifix. They hope to provide a chaplain, but as yet their goods are not sufficient.	—	—
432. L.	Stradishall. St. Margaret. No date.	To furnish torches in the church in honour of St. Mary and St. Margaret.	—	—
433 L.	Tudenhamb. St. John Baptist, 1371.	To provide a chaplain to celebrate and a taper before St. John's image. All go to funeral ceremonies and offer at the mass and give 1d. in soul-alms.	—	—
434 L.	Holy Trinity, 1359.	To provide a chaplain to celebrate once a week, a taper before the image of the Trinity, help towards the church repairs. All offer at the mass for a dead brother or sister and give 1d. to have a mass for him.	—	—
435 L.	SUSSEX. Golyton, (? Corpus Christi), 1380.	Each pays 20d. annually to provide a chaplain and 13 tapers to burn before the crucifix in honour of Corpus Christi.	—	Founded by the rector and certain parishioners. Brethren can withdraw at will from the fraternity.
436 F. and L.	WARWICKSHIRE. Coventry. Corpus Christi. Licens'd 17 Edw. III.	Robert Chaundos and others licensed by Edw. III. to begin and have a gild in honour of the Precious Body and Blood of Christ and a chaplain celebrating for their welfare. Four requiems yearly for the dead. On feast of C. C. they put on their livery and carry 8 torches round the Body of Christ through the town. Thirteen candles at mass. They have 2 copies, 4 banners, etc.	In misfortune not arising from folly help from the gild to the best of its power.	The master swears loyalty to the King and to the mayor and bailiffs of Coventry. They meet at the Bishop of Chester's palace (<i>sec.</i> S.)

	St. John Baptist. Licensed 17 Edw. III. E. and L.	Chantry of 6 chaplains in churches of Holy Trinity and St. Michael, also to alienate land at Babellak for building a chapel thereon to St. John Baptist for 2 chaplains celebrating, etc. Later license to admit men and women to gild and find 7 chaplains in the new chapel because the chantries of the original licensee had not been founded. Two anniversaries for souls.	Obliterated in part but seemingly as in 436.	The Latin ordinances form a rule for the chaplains of Babellak chapel. S. (French.) S. (Latin and French.)
437	Holy Trinity. Licensed 38 Edw. III. F.	Two chaplains celebrating for King and Queen and souls, etc. A solemn gathering on the Feast of the Trinity. Early anniversary for the dead. They also pay out of rents for a chaplain celebrating at dawn in the cathedral church of Our Lady, that rich and poor may hear mass and go on their way and labourers to their work. Another chaplain on same foundation.	As in 436, so that he do not beg. Burial in need at gild's expense.	They are to find 2 poor men and 1 woman yearly and maintain them. They have a chalice, missal, etc. S.
438	The Gild Merchant. Charter 14 Edw. III. F.	The Charter grants a Gild Merchant and a fraternity of the brothers and sisters of the gild . . . Chantries, alms and other works of charity to be ordained. Chaplains according to means, to be increased when possible. Solemn assembly on the Feast of the Assumption. Four meetings for mass yearly to pray and sing for King Edward, Isabella his other, Queen Philippa, the Prince their son, and the good estate of the gild, etc.	Burial in need at the gild's expense. In unmerited poverty help given to start again in trade and assistance in sickness, etc.	The Charter grants a Gild Merchant and a fraternity of the brothers and sisters of the gild . . . Chantries, alms and other works of charity to be ordained. Chaplains according to means, to be increased when possible. Solemn assembly on the Feast of the Assumption. Four meetings for mass yearly to pray and sing for King Edward, Isabella his other, Queen Philippa, the Prince their son, and the good estate of the gild, etc.
439	Stratford. Holy Cross. “Time without memory.” L.	The chaplains sing for the soul of a dead brother (obliterated) for a whole year and his full name is written on a tablet which is placed on the altar. A brother dying away from Coventry has funeral services, etc., as if he were present. They have a hostel of 13 beds for poor men passing on pilgrimage, etc. A governor presides over it and there is a woman to keep it clean. It costs £10 a year.	In unmerited poverty help with food, clothing, and other necessities.	Each to give towards a candle to burn at each mass before the Holy Cross. This candle, with 8 smaller ones, are taken to the house of a dead brother, and carried back with him to church, where all attend the ceremonies and pray for his soul.
440		Service of prayer before the drinking at the gild-feast.	The gild supplies lights, a sheet and carpet for the coffin of any poor man or stranger dying in the town. Cups are filled at the feast for the poor.	The gild supplies lights, a sheet and carpet for the coffin of any poor man or stranger dying in the town. Cups are filled at the feast for the poor.

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441 F.	Warwick. St. George . (Charter from Ric. II.).	The charter allows the formation of a gild of burgesses and other brothers and sisters, and a chantry of 2 chaplains singing, in a chapel on the gate called "Hongyngate" of Warwick, for the good estate, etc. License to the Earl of Warwick to grant the advowson of the church of St. James to the gild so that they may have their devotion perpetually. On St. George's Day 4 tapers and 4 torches are carried to the church of Our Lady for a solemn mass at which offerings are made.	Relief in need.	—
442 F.	Holy Trinity and B.V.M. . (Church of St. Mary). (Charter from Ric. II.).	License to alienate land to find 3 chaplains to celebrate daily for the good estate, etc. On Trinity Sunday 12 tapers and 4 torches as in 441.	As in 441.	They had meetings long before the grant of the charter.
443 F.	WILTSHIRE. Malmesbury. Gild of the Borough. . Temp. Athelstan.	Recites the charter of Athelstan (A.D. 925-940), granting to the burgesses of Malmesbury certain liberties and confirming the privileges they then had. And the burgesses, in view of this gracious act, built a chapel in honour of God and St. John Baptist, in which chapel they ordained that a chaplain should sing daily for ever for the souls of King Athelstan and Queen Maud, of the Kings of England, of the burgesses and their ancestors and successors, and of the benefactors of the town.	—	—
444 F.	YORKSHIRE. Bedeall. Holy Trinity. . No date.	A chaplain sings daily mass at an altar in the church.	—	(Bad condition.)
445 L.	Beverley. Corpus Christi. . No date.	To hold a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, which feast was founded by Pope Urban IV. and Pope John XXII.	Help to brefthren in poverty.	(Large portion destroyed.) Ordinance re settlement of disputes. S.

		The gild maintains two to four poor folks and buries them when they die, electing others to take their places. S.	
446 L.	St. Helen and St. Mary (Church of Friars Minor), 1378.	On St. Helen's Day the gild has a procession headed by one old man with a cross and another with a spade, then a youth dressed as Queen Helen—all in token of the finding of the cross. The gild brethren and sisters follow to the church, where a solemn mass is sung, and each offers 1d. Three candles on Sundays and festivals and 13 candles at the first mass on Christmas Day. The balance of their money is spent on repairs to the chapel and in alms to the poor.	—
447 L.	Great Gild of St. John. <i>Inspectarius</i> of Rie. II. mentions Charter of Hen. I.	—	No ordinaries but various charters of rights of the Gild Merchant.
448 L.	Purification B.V.M. (Church of B.V.M.), 1355.	Yearly on the Feast of the Purification the brothers and sisters meet in a fitting place from which to make procession to the church. One of them is clad as a queen to represent the B.V.M. with the appearance of a son in her arms. Two go as Joseph and Simeon and two others as angels with a frame of 24 lights. The sisters follow the Virgin, and then come the brothers, each with a light. At the church the Virgin offers her son to Simeon at the high altar and all the brethren offer 1d. and their lights. Prayers and offerings for the dead at the gild-feast.	8d. or less to the sick and ailing and burial, if necessary, at gild's expense. S.
449 L.	Kingston-on-Hull. Corpus Christi, 1358.	All meet on the Feast of Corpus Christi for mass and to make offerings. All attend the burial of a dead brother or sister.	Only the children of gild brothers may be admitted normally to the gild. Others pay 3 lbs. of silver unless by special decree. S. 20s. in the year to misfortune to recover his trade. This sum may be kept for 3 years if necessary and may finally be forgiven him. 14d. in sickness.

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450 L.	St. John Baptist. No date.	All meet on the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist. Brethren attend mass and make offerings. All attend funeral ceremonies.	Help given to the infirm and needy.	S.
451 L.	B.V.M., 1357.	All assemble for mass and offerings on the Feast of the Assumption and attend all funeral ceremonies for brethren.	10s. loan as in 449, 7d. per week in sickness, etc.	Pilgrims to Holy Land are excused their yearly subscription while away. Ordinance re settlement of disputes. S.
452 F.	Ripon. (i.) B.V.M., St. Wilfred and All Saints, c. 1379.	In honour of God, etc., and for the love they have to a holy chapel of St. Mary built in the time of St. Wilfred now become weak and ruinous . . . and for the souls of themselves and all Christians . . . to amend the said chapel. They subscribe both for this and for a chaplain to sing daily mass.	—	They have no ill intent nor do they cherish any quarrels.
453 F.	(ii.) "Another fraternity," c. 1379.	Founded solely for the good of the souls of themselves and all Christians. A chaplain to sing daily mass in the "high church" for souls, etc.	—	As in (i.).
454 L.	Rotherham. Holy Cross, 1356.	Once a year all assemble in the church . . . and agree to find a chaplain for the year to sing mass and other services before the cross. On the Feast of the Exaltation all lights are renewed and carried in procession to the church. These torches and candles are used at funerals, which all attend.	—	—
	York. Pater Noster. No date.	Founded to revive and maintain the old play which sets forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer for the health of the souls of the founders and of the audience. The brethren are bound to mutual prayer and attend funerals. They find a frame with 7 lights in token of the seven petitions to burn on	Burial in need at gild's expense. Help in need from robbery, fire or false imprisonment.	The gild has no property. S.

		Sundays and festivals in the cathedral. They keep a tablet shewing the meaning and use of the prayer to hang on a pillar. Yearly mass for brethren living and dead. Also they meet every six weeks to pray for the good estate of the King . . . and for souls.	To cherish brotherly love. Yearly mass for living and dead.	7d. a week in poverty.	The gild has no property. Ordinance re settlement of disputes. S.
455 L.	St. John Baptist. No date.	No County given. Hatherleigh. B.V.M. , c. 1329. (? Devonshire.)	A priest to celebrate mass before the image of our Lady in the parish church, to pray for the good estate of King and realm and for souls of founders.	—	Their goods include 13 oxen, 7 cows, 5 bullocks, and 6 heifers.
456. L.	Holtham. B.V.M. and Holy Trinity . “Time without memory.” (? Holkham, Norf.)	Holtham. B.V.M. and Holy Trinity . “Time without memory.” (? Holkham, Norf.)	They meet and offer at the high mass and find a candle to burn in the chancel on festivals. They pay in part maintenance of a chaplain celebrating for brothers and sisters and other good men of the town.	—	—
457 L.	Worton. St. Nicholas . No date.	Worton. St. Nicholas . No date.	Each brother and sister gives a bushel of corn to the repair of the church and 4d. to find a light.	—	John Bailly, Alderman.
458 L.	Holy Trinity . No date. (? Worton, Oxon.).	Holy Trinity . No date. (? Worton, Oxon.).	As in 459, the light to be before the Trinity altar.	—	Same alderman.
459 L.	Unnamed place. Nativity B.V.M. , 1385.	Unnamed place. Nativity B.V.M. , 1385.	Each (dead) brother or sister to have the gild light and mass and 30 masses at gild's expense. Each brother attends and offers 4d.	4d. weekly from each brother and sister in chance poverty.	—
460 L.	Unnamed place. Purification , 1385.	Unnamed place. Purification , 1385.	Brethren attend all funeral ceremonies and offer in soul-alms. Each gives the alderman 1d. for mass for the dead.	A tunic and 40d. yearly if any brother is ill on the feast day, ale shall be sent to him as good as the alderman has.	

THE PARISH GILDS OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND

Certificate No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
462 L.	No County given. Caldecote. Holy Trinity. No date.	Any of the profession desiring to enter the gild shall pay to maintain a certain light before the images of St. Mary and St. Luke and to aid the poor. (Nothing to shew if limited to brethren.)	10 <i>l.</i> a week in helpless poverty.	List only of goods of the fraternity and the names of the alderman and beadle.
463 F.	LONDON. B.V.M. and St. Luke (St. Giles, Cripplegate) (Painters). No date.	To nourish love and charity amongst them, and for the health of their souls by alms deeds, and to find a light. One light of 2 tapers in the chapel of our Lady at Bethlehem without Bishopsgate, and a second light in the church of St. Paul in London, before the image of our Lady in the body of the church. Five tapers at each burial to be renewed for every burial, and 6 tapers to be renewed after the third burial. Each brother to attend <i>dirge</i> in his livery and the masses on the month after and make offering. Yearly mass at 7 a.m. on the Annunciation in the church of Bethlehem in livery, with offering. The same at St. Paul's on the Assumption.	Each pays 6 <i>d.</i> a quarter for alms. In helplessness by God's grace 14 <i>d.</i> a week till recovery on condition of prayer for the brethren and all Christians.	No craft statutes.
464 E.	Annunciation and Assumption (St. Paul's in London) and Bethlehem church 1356. (Pouehmakers.)	To find 2 tapers, one each as in the dedication. On Twelfth Day, all attend mass at St. Thomas's and offer, and on Midsummer Day mass in the church of "Halwell", and offer <i>Id.</i> They bring a dead brother to the church, attend <i>placebo</i> and <i>dirige</i> and mass, and offer. The dead to have a trental of masses at gild's expense. Each brother to pay to	On Burial in need at gild's expense, 14 <i>d.</i> weekly in accidental poverty or sickness.	Craft statutes.
465 E.	Our Lady and St. Joseph (Church of St. Thomas of Acon) and Our Lady and St. John (Church of St. John Baptist, Halwell).			

	Date torn. 7 Ed. (Carpenters.)	the help of sick men "whiche that falle in disease as by falling don of an hous or hurtynge of an ey or other diuerse sikenesse 12d. by the yere."	—	(Bad condition.)
466 F.	Our Lady (St. Benet's, Grace-church St.), Date obliterated.	On account of the great number of people and pilgrims resorting to the church because of the good "hostellie," there, and the poverty of the parishioners, it was agreed to find a chaplain singing for the King's ancestors, etc., and for souls . . . so that men could hear mass before going to any task, at which mass the gild finds 5 tapers and others before our Lady's image.	—	Charters only referring to craft regulations.
467 L.	(Girdlers.)		—	As in 467.
468 L.	(Saddlers.)		—	Copy of John Balauncer's will.
469 L.	"A little company of a Corpus Christi light" (St. Giles, Cripplegate), 1352.	One John Balauncer having a great devotion to and affection for the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, assembled some good people of the parish . . . who had a great wish to do honour and reverence to the Sacred Body . . . and they commenced to provide a light before the Trinity altar. When their money allows they have a chaplain; 30d. is paid for a trental of masses for a dead brother.	—	Ordinance <i>re</i> settlement of disputes. No craft statutes.
470 L.	(Minstrels), 1350.	Minstrels and other good people have founded a fraternity to last the period of their lives. All attend funerals and the deceased has a trental of masses at the gild's expense. A brother trespassing against another and refusing to make amends shall be put out of the fraternity, but his name shall still remain on the roll kept by the Carmelite brothers (so that he shall never lose his benefit from the fraternity nor be forgotten) among the feasts written in their martyrologie. (The meaning of the whole passage is somewhat obscure.)	14d. a week in case a minstrel cannot practise his profession by reason of poverty, old age, etc. A brother may borrow on giving proper pledge.	

Certificate. No. and Language.	Place, Dedication, and Date of Foundation.	Origin, Purpose, and Religious Provisions.	Friendly Benefits to Members, if any.	Remarks.
471 F.	(Brewers. (All Hallows, London Wall), c. 1342.	John Enefeld, brewer (and others including an attorney, a chandler and a whitawyer), seeing the great poverty of the church of All Saints and that its tower is in danger of collapse, and that the parishioners are too poor to help, out of their great devotion have rebuilt the tower and the chapel in the turret on London Wall in the same church, and have begun to find a light before the cross in this chapel. This went on till the first pestilence, when all the founders died except John Enefeld, who afterwards got together some good people, brewers and others, and agreed with them to continue the support of the church and the light.	—	Recites the will of John Enefeld bequeathing property for a chapel in St. Owen's and another in All Saints. <i>C.f. 206.</i>

INDEX

A

ABBOTSBURY, Gild at, 2, 3, 6, 72
Ælfric, Homilies of, 122
Æthelstan, Mass for, 11; Reign of, 2,
 6 n.
Alcuin, 7
Aleybury, Elizabeth and Henry, 115
Aleyn, John, 97, 101
Alford (Lincs.), 125
Armourers' Company, 23, 24
Ashton, William, 79
Aske's Rebellion, 131
Askham, William, 79
Ayscught, Sir William, 130

B

Balaunce, John, 50
Baldwin, Abbot, 11, 12
Bangor, Diocese of, 78
Bardwell, Gild of St. Peter at, 62, 63
Barnes, Harry, 114, 115
Barningham, 63
Basingstoke, 44; Gild of Holy Ghost at,
 89
Bassingbourn, Gild of Holy Trinity at,
 64
Baston, Gild of St. John Baptist at, 34,
 122
Bath, Abbot of, 8; Gild at, 18; Mayor
 of, 18; St. Mary de Stalles, 18
Battersea, Vicar of, 85
Becket, 14
Bede, 7
Bedford, Duchess of, 85; Duke of, 94
Belmeis, Richard de, 32
Bidding Prayer, 83
Bishop's Hampton, 128
Black Death, 14, 20, 26, 27, 30, 36,
 50, 61, 93
Bliklyng, William, 85
Blower, Thomas, 107
Bockynge, John, 67
Bodmin, 91
Booth, Archbishop William, 55
Boston, Gild of B.V.M., 16, 17, 58,
 75, 121; Gild of St. Katharine, 120
Brampton, William, 79

Bristol, All Saints, 8; Gild of Kalendars
at, 8, 9; Gild of Mariners, 88; Holy
Trinity Church, 8; St. Bartholo-
mew's Hospital, 88; Records of, 8
Bromefeld, Richard, 95
Burgh, Gild of St. James at, 33
Burnet, 129
Bury, John, 79
Bury St. Edmund's, 135; Gild of
Corpus Christi at, 49; Gild of St.
Nicholas at, 12; Monks of, 11; St.
Edmund's Church, 12; St. Mary's
Church, 11

C

Cambridge, 44; Gilds at: Annuncia-
tion, 45; Assumption, 124; Corpus
Christi, 44; Holy Sepulchre, 22;
Purification, 125; St. Katharine,
123-4; St. Mary, 44; Thanes' Gild,
2 n., 5
Cambridgeshire, Returns from, 38
Campeggio, Cardinal, 75
Canterbury, 59; Archbishop of, 28, 46;
Archbishop Rich of, 17; Archbishop
Warham of, 76; Chapman's Gild at,
11; Convent of Christ Church at, 11;
Gild in St. Dunstan's, 89; Gilds at,
11
Canute, 2, 11
Cawood, John, 96
Caxton, 85, 100, 126
Chaucer, 39, 46, 48, 93
Chaundos, Robert, 49
Chertsey, Abbot of, 8
Chester, Corpus Christi Gild at, 51
Chesterfield, Gild of St. Mary at, 34
Cheveley, 126
Chichester, Bishop Robert de Stratford
of, 110; Gild of St. George at, 91
Cirencester, 37
Clarence, Duke of, 115
Clement VII., 75
Clerk, Nicholas, 32
Clerks of Glemsford, Fraternity of, 11
Clopton, William, 128
Cnichten-gild, 3 n.
Combes, John, 128

Coronation of Our Lady, 59

Cotton, Mary, 17

Coventry, 49; Burgess for, 133; Gild of Holy Trinity at, 58; House of St. Anne at, 7

Coverham, Abbot of, 55

Cranmer, 133; Chaplain of, 130

Crede Play, 57, 58

Crocombe, 61

Copland, Robert, 100

Cromwell, Thomas, 75

Cosyn, Thomas, 85

Court of Augmentations, 103

D

Datchet, Vicar of, 85

Diceto, Ralph de, 21

Domesday Book, 11

Drayton, Nicholas, 29

Duff, John, 87

Dullingham, Gild of St. James at, 62

Dulse Gild, 13

Dunstable, 44

Durham, Corpus Christi Gild at, 131

E

Edgar, King, 6 n.

Edward the Confessor, 1-2, 11

Edward III., 31, 37, 67, 111

Edward IV., 115

Edward VI., 116

Elfleda, Queen of the Mercians, 32

Ely, John, 29; Roger, 95

Enefeld, John, 27

Everswell, W., 32

Evesham, Abbot of, 8

Exeter, 78; Bishop of, 4, 132; Gild at, 4, 6; Monastery at, 4; See of, 4

Eyam, Gild of Our Lady at, 62

F

Fastolf, Sir John, 118

Fish, Simon, 129

Fitz-Harding, Robert, 8

Florence, Council of, 9

Fountains, Abbot of, 55

Frith, John, 129

Frithgilds, 2, 10

Furnivall, Dr. F. J., 39

G

Garcias, Canon of Roncesvalles, 93

Gasquet, Cardinal, 39

Gedney, Gild of St. Thomas at, 15

Genoa, Archbishop of, 126

Gerland, Nicholas, 31

Gibbus, John, 115

Gild Oath, 109

Gloucester, Abbot of, 8; Robert, Earl of, 8

Golden Legend, 126

Graceman, 17

Graunt, Robert, 73

Graye, Lady Anne, 115

Gregory the Great, 9

Grove, Thomas, 96

H

Hadleigh, 76

Hale, John, 115

Hall, John, 29

Harrowing of Hell, 56

Hatherley Down, 126

Henry I., 21

Henry II., 8, 14, 17, 21

Henry III., 92, 110

Henry IV., 67, 79

Henry VI., 7, 77, 125

Henry VII., 125

Henry VIII., 75, 78, 88, 125, 128, 131-4

Hereford, Bishop of, 85; See of, 54

Hibbert, Rev. F. A., 22, 134

Holbeach, Shepherds' Gild, 33; Tilers' Gild, 23

Holt, Edmund, 87

Hull, 131; Shipmen's Gild, 88

Hurley, Prior of, 85

I

Icklingham, Gild of Holy Cross at, 14

Ine of Wessex, 1

Ingham, Gild of Holy Trinity at, 34

Ingoldsby Legends, 93

Ipswich, 44; Corpus Christi Gild at, 21, 22, 51; Holy Trinity Church, 22, 52; Priors of Holy Trinity and St. Peter, 51, 53; St. Mary-le-Tower, 52; St. Peter's Church, 22, 52

Isle of Man, 78

J

Jeffs, William, 114

Joan of Arc, 95

John, (King), 21

Julius II., Pope, 75

K

Kalendars, Gild of, 8, 9

Kelke, Mr., 95, 102

Kemp, Archbishop of, 47

Kensington, 85

King, Rev. H. H., vi., 91

King's Lynn. See Lynn

L

Lancaster, Gild of Holy Trinity and St. Leonard, 35

Latimer, 129

Leland, 8

Lichfield, 104; Chapel of St. Mary at, 109; Gild of St. Mary at, 108, 109

Lightfoot, Richard, 128

Lilleshull, Abbey of, 31, 32

Lincoln, 51; Gild of St. Anne at, 17; Gild of St. Edmund of Pontigny at,

17; Tailors' Gild at, 49; Weavers' Gild at, 17
 Lincolnshire, Returns from, 38
 London, Bishop of, 46; Bishops and Reeves of, 2; Temple Bar, 90
London Churches: All Hallows, London Wall, 27; Holy Trinity, Aldgate, 28; St. Bartholomew's, 68; St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, 38; St. Botolph's, Without, 47, 66, 67, 68, 72; St. Bridget's, 20, 37; St. Giles, Cripplegate, 20, 50; St. Magnus, 15; St. Martin-le-Grand, 68; St. Mary, Aldermanry, 85; St. Mary, Colechurch, 20; St. Michael's, Cornhill, 47; St. Owen's, Newgate, 16, 27; St. Paul's Cathedral, 21, 23, 28, 48, 77, 96; St. Peter's, Cornhill, 79; St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 40
London Gilds: All Souls in St. Paul's Cathedral, 21, 28; Corpus Christi in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, 66; Corpus Christi in St. Giles', Cripplegate, 50; Holy Trinity in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, 47, 66, 67, 68, 72; Holy Trinity in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, 40; Jesus Gild in St. Paul's Cathedral, 77, 96; St. Anne in St. Owen's, Newgate, 16; St. Bridget in St. Bride's, Fleet Street, 37; Sts. Fabian and Sebastian in St. Botolph's Aldersgate, 47, 66, 67, 68, 72; St. George in St. Paul's Cathedral, 23; St. Mary in St. Bride's, Fleet Street, 20, 37; St. Peter in St. Peter's, Cornhill, 79; St. Thomas on London Bridge, 15; Salutation in St. Magnus, 15; Frithgilds in, 2
 Louth, 131; Corpus Christi Gild at, 49
 Ludlow, Palmer's Gild at, 18; St. Laurence's Church, 18, 19
 Lyle, Alice, 83
 Lylynge, William, 115
 Lynn, Burgess for, 133; Returns from, 38
Lynn Gilds: Corpus Christi, 50; Great Gild, 22; St. James, 27; St. Michael, 125; St. Thomas, 15, 15 n.; Young Scholars, 41

M

Maiden's Gild, 61
 Malmesbury, Gild at, 11
 March, Gild of St. Wyndred at, 27
 Mary, Queen, 135
 Masone, Peter, 79
 Matilda (Queen), 8
 Maud (Queen), 11
 Mauduit, Robert, 22; William, 22
 Maundy Thursday, 52
 Mazers, 58
 Melton, William, 55
 More, Sir Thomas, 129

N

Mortmain, Statute of, 18, 24, 25, 36
 Morton, Gild of All Saints at, 90
 Myllys, William, 73

O

Navarre, 92, 93, 100
 Newark, Vicar of, 130
 Nicholas V., 75
 Norfolk, Returns from, 38
 Northampton, Gilds at, 37, 38; Gild of St. Mary in All Saints', 15
 Northamptonshire, Gilds of St. Katharine in, 123
 North Somercotes, Gild of St. Mary at, 130
 Northumbrian Priests, Laws of, 6
 Norwich, Bishop of, 118; Church of St. Austin, 41
Norwich Gilds: Corpus Christi, 49; Poor Men's Gild, 41; St. George, 42, 116-119; St. Katharine, 44
 Nyk, John, 85

P

Orcy, 2
 Ording, Abbat, 12
 Oxford, 130; Church of St. Mary, 31; Gild of St. Thomas at, 31

R

Paston, Sir John, 118
 Paul's Cross, 28
 Pearsoun, John, 131
 Pembroke, Earl of, 92, 94
 Pershore, Abbot of, 8
 Piers the Plowman, 39
 Pilgrimages, 17
 Pilton, 61
 Plymouth, 59

S

Revetor, William, 57
 Richard I., 21
 Richard II., 36, 55, 67
 Richard III., 55
 Rievaulx, Abbot of, 55
 Rock, Dr., v, 10
 Rome, Bishop of, 78
 Roncesvalles, 92; Garcias, Canon of, 93
 Rughton, John de, 29
 Ryebrede, Richard, 79

16

St. Thomas of Canterbury, 50
 Saxilby, Richard, 85
 Schaft, Gild of the, 89, 90
 Schepeye, John, 16
 Scrope, Archbishop Richard, 58
 Selly, David, 85
 Shakespeare, 109
 Sherborne, Bishop, 91
 Shrewsbury, 31, 32, 131; Corpus Christi Gild at, 51
 Sixtus IV., 75
 Somerset (Protector), 133
 Spalding, Gild of Holy Trinity at, 30;
 Gild of St. John Baptist at, 29
 Spofforth, Thomas, 54
 Stamford, 44; Church of St. Mary, 16;
 Gild at, 30; Gild of St. Martin at, 34;
 Gild of St. Mary at, 15
 Stanley, Sir Humphrey, 109
 Stokwod, Edward, 73
 Stone (Staffs.), 131
 Stopyndon, John, 85
 Stratford, 44, 104; Gild of Holy Cross at, 109; Robert de, 110
 Stratton, 61
 Strype, 24
 Sudbury, Archbishop Simon, 47
 Sude, William, 110
 Suffolk, Earl of, 118; Returns from, 38
 Supplication of Beggars, 129
 Supplication of Souls, 129
 Swaffham Bulbeck, 30
 Swynker, John, 107

T

Tedesdale, John, 86
 Tetbury, 37
 Tewkesbury, 37
 Thame, Abbot of, 131
 Thetford, Gild of B.V.M. at, 20
 Thorpe, 39
 Tideswell, 38
 Tilney, Gild of St. Mary at, 16
 Tintenhull, 61
 Toumlin Smith, v, 19, 19 n., 39, 40,
 41, 112 n.
 Towson, Robert, 130
 Tristram, William, 131
 Tydd St. Giles, Gild of St. Mary at, 32
 Tyndale, 129

U

Upwell, Gilds of Purification at, 29
 Urban IV., 49
 Urban VI., 75
 Uxbridge, 77

V

Vigny, Jean de, 126
 Voragine, Jacobus de, 126
 Vyne, Philip at, 67

W

Walsoken, Gilds of Holy Cross and Holy Trinity at, 74; Pardon of, 74, 75
 Warren, Rev. Canon, vi, 134
 Wells, John Gunthorp, Dean of, 130
 Westminster, 104; Abbey, 7, 75;
 Anchoress of, 85; Charing Cross, 92; Gild of Assumption, 48, 73, 84,
 85, 86, 87, 100; Gild of Bellringers,
 22; Gild of St. Cornelius, 75; Gild of Our Lady of Rounceval, 77, 92 *et seq.*; King Street, 85; Long Ditch, 85; Monastery of, 135; Northumberland Avenue, 92, 93; Our Lady Alley, 85; St. Margaret's, 48, 73,
 76, 84, 85, 100, 102; St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 102; St. Stephen's, 86;
 Strand, 85; Tothill Street, 85; Wool Staple, 85, 99; York Place, 87

Westwode, Roger, 93
 Whaplode, Gild of St. Katharine at, 31
 Whitby, Abbot of, 55
 Whyte, Thomas, 106
 Wigtoft, Gild of the Assumption at, 19
 Wihtried, King of the Kentish, 6
 Wilda, 8
 William (the Conqueror), 8
 Willys, Master, 85
 Winchcombe, Abbot of, 8
 Winchelsea, Archbishop Robert of, 47
 Winchester, Gild at, 22, 44
 Wing, 61

Wisbech, 104, 107, 109; Church of SS. Peter and Paul, 106; Corpus Christi Gild at, 107; Holy Trinity Gild at, 104-108

Wolsey, Cardinal, 75, 87, 97, 101
 Woodbury, Gilds of St. Peter at, 4, 5, 6
 Worcester, Benet, Chaplain to Bishop of, 130; Bishop Godfrey Giffard of, 110, 111; Bishop William de Bleys of, 9; Dean of, 8; William, 8
 Worde, Wynkyn de, 85, 100, 126
 Wulstan, Bishop, 8
 Wyclif, 38, 39, 43
 Wylde, Thomas, 73
 Wymond, Robert, 130
 Wymondham, 50, 127; Gild of Our Lady's Light at, 73; Gild of St. Thomas at, 14

Y

Yakesley, Richard, 130
 Yarmouth, 29; Gild of St. George at, 37
 Yelverton, Judge, 117
 York, 55; Archbishop of, 55, 58;
 Cathedral, 57; Corporation, 58;
 Corpus Christi Gild at, 51, 53, 54,
 57; Frithgild, 2; Holy Trinity, 56;
 St. Leonard's, 57; St. Thomas', 58



Westlake, H.F.

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